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NORMAN THOMAS    CARL VAN DOREN

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, \$5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, \$6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 38 So. Dearborn Street. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising: E. Thurtle, M.P., 36, Temple Fortune Hill, N.W. 11, England.

A NOTABLE TRIUMPH FOR JUSTICE was the acquittal in Detroit on a second trial for murder of Henry Sweet, brother of the Negro physician in front of whose Detroit residence a jeering mob gathered on September 9, 1925, hooting and hurling missiles in an effort to drive him out of that "white" neighborhood. Shortly afterward there was firing and one member of the mob was killed, whereupon Dr. Sweet and all the people in the house, eleven in number, were arrested and indicted for murder. On the first trial the jury disagreed. Henry Sweet was the only one tried again. Every effort was made to convict him. The police manfully perjured themselves by declaring that there was no mob. Yet the jury after three hours of deliberation acquitted the defendant. This is a memorable victory. It establishes the right of the Negro in Detroit to exercise self-defense and proves that a Negro with right on his side can win even against prejudiced authority. More than that, it has furnished an extraordinary example of racial solidarity. Within two weeks the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People collected \$75,000 for the defense of the Sweets and for two or three other important

cases, one before the Supreme Court of the United States. No clearer demonstration of the growing economic power of the Negro and of his determination to fight for his rights and justice has been vouchsafed. The thanks of every fair-minded American must be given to the association, to Clarence Darrow, Thomas F. Chawke, and Julian W. Perry, the attorneys in the case, and to Judge Murphy, who presided with admirable fairness.

DOES FREE SPEECH BY RADIO exist in this country? Norman Thomas has discovered, by means of a series of quite conclusive tests, just what dilution of freedom is permitted to radio talkers and radio listeners under the present system of direct control of broadcasting by Secretary Hoover and indirect control by the radio trust. On April 16 WEAJ canceled an arrangement with the United Parents Association to broadcast a speech on education by Mr. Thomas which contained a reference to compulsory military training. Then, apparently as a result of this, Mr. Thomas was asked by WMCA—the broadcasting station of the Young Men's Christian Association—to speak on the subject of freedom of the air with special reference to the radio legislation discussed by Morris Ernst in his recent articles in *The Nation*. The subject was chosen by the representative of the station who invited Mr. Thomas to speak. But the manager evidently regretted this impetuous liberalism; he canceled the address on the day it was to have been delivered, and suggested a debate—which he failed to arrange.

MEANWHILE STATION WHAP had broadcast a speech by Joseph Cashman, whom Mr. Thomas is suing for libel. The speech contained flat untruths regarding organizations with which Mr. Thomas is connected. WHAP refused to allow a correction to be broadcast. Then WRNY invited Mr. Thomas to use its station for an address on the subject of freedom of speech on the air. And, to the credit of all concerned, the address was actually delivered, with some minor modifications insisted upon by the directors of the company. Is the air free? About one-half of one per cent, Mr. Thomas would estimate, and that fraction belongs to the manager of the station which invited and finally permitted a discussion of methods of radio control. The attitude of the companies was well expressed by the representative of WMCA, who was quoted as saying:

Why, he slammed the daylights out of the companies on which we depend for supplies. Mr. Gilliam [manager of the station] agreed with me that it was better not to do anything rash and get into trouble with other stations on whom we depend or with Washington.

Such refreshing frankness should do more than many speeches to help pass the Dill bill taking radio control out of the hands of the Secretary of Commerce and giving it to a non-political commission. The Chicago Federation of Labor, meanwhile, is starting out to test Mr. Hoover's right of control and opening a station of its own without Mr. Hoover's august permission.

ACCUSTOMED TO THE INSINCERITY of politicians, we are none the less shocked by the amazing exhibition given by William S. Culbertson, now American Minister to Rumania, at the hearing on May 20 before the special Senatorial committee on the relations of the President to the Tariff Commission. To the astonishment of those who learned the facts at the time from Mr. Culbertson's own lips, this gentleman declared that the President, when the witness was a member of the Tariff Commission, "never tried to urge me unduly nor was he at any time a party to the efforts which were made by disappointed applicants and lobbyists to frighten me into a more tractable position on the Tariff Commission." Senator La Follette immediately pulled out of his pocket a letter from Mr. Culbertson to his fellow-member on the commission, Mr. Costigan, and asked Mr. Culbertson to read his own comment on the appointment of Mr. Broussard, the sugar lobbyist, as his successor: "If this appointment is to be regarded as a revelation of the President's policy, I feel fully justified in leaving the commission. . . . I didn't suppose that Coolidge would do anything so rawly, if he did it at all. . . . I can imagine the effect on the staff. . . . They must feel that honesty is not the best policy. . . ." The *New York Times* correspondent said that "spectators gasped at this dramatic denouement." Well they might. Throughout all his fight against the President's hamstringing of the Tariff Commission Mr. Culbertson was constantly appealing for aid to liberal journalists, reciting a different story and protesting against being kicked upstairs into the diplomatic service. He now declares that he had long been an applicant for a diplomatic job and welcomed it. Public life will not begin to be what it should be until a man like this is promptly dismissed.

WALTER LIPPMANN, editor of the *New York World*, is among those who have, in season and out, preached the gospel of the League of Nations, urging the United States to join. Now, in urging the importance of Germany joining, he lets a little kitten out of his Geneva bag. "*The League*," says its advocate, "*up to the present has been primarily an alliance of victors tempered by certain small neutrals like Sweden.*" [The italics are ours.] Right, Mr. Lippmann; go to the head of the class. And now, Mr. Lippmann, what is the League without Russia? Primarily an alliance of capitalist states to maintain their colonies and oppose communism? No? You call it a great federation "to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security"? Those, we recall, were the words inscribed in the Treaty of Versailles, when what you call "primarily an alliance of victors" was founded. Keep it up, Mr. Lippmann; you are learning.

AGAIN HAVE THE FRENCH in Syria disgraced themselves and humanity by bombarding a section of the city of Damascus and killing six hundred men, women, and children. For ten days they concealed this bloody deed from the rest of the world; then on May 19 it leaked out in a dispatch to the *London Express*. The details would be incredible if they were not a repetition of events of last October. Instead of being, as the French first reported, a mere shelling of some fortified houses in the Midan quarter and the killing of fifty rebels, it appears that 3,000 French troops surrounded a quarter into which had

fled some 200 Druses. The French commander gave these 80,000 people thirty minutes in which to quit the quarter, later extending the period to one hour—as if 80,000 people could evacuate a quarter of a city in any such time. When the hour was up the French opened fire indiscriminately with twelve three-inch guns and four 4.8-inch howitzers, while a dozen airplanes bombed from the sky. This is sheer massacre, contrary to all the laws of war. Such baby-killing is military psychology; whether in Belgium or China or Syria, your civilized commander always commits atrocities and then declares that ruthlessness is really kindness, since it shortens the war. This second Damascus massacre reveals not only the military inhumanity of the French but the breakdown of the loudly proclaimed new French policy, which, we were told, was to be one of winning over the natives with friendship. The League of Nations, whose wards the Syrians are, has not yet acted on the first massacre. Will it sleep on?

BRITISH INDUSTRY was in almost as critical a position when this issue of *The Nation* went to press as during the general strike. Premier Baldwin's compromise proposals for the coal industry had been rejected both by the miners and the owners, and the Prime Minister had stated in reply that the government subsidy would be cut off on June 1. In spite of considerable outside assistance, the funds of the miners' union were dwindling, and they and their dependents, numbering in all some 4,000,000, were in a serious situation. Owing to shortage of coal the railways of the nation were running on about half schedule and other industry was similarly curtailed. Thus, although the Government succeeded in crushing the general strike, it still has on its hands the economic problem that caused it. In a London dispatch to the *New York World* John L. Balderston says that even Tories are beginning to talk of nationalization of the mines. "It will take something approaching national paralysis of industry to bring it about," he writes. "But there are those who believe Mr. Baldwin prefers nationalization to the bitterness that would result if the owners are permitted to starve the miners back to work on unjust terms." Reverting to the eve of the general strike, the *New Statesman* lays the breaking off of peace negotiations to Winston Churchill. It says that Mr. Baldwin's hand was forced at the last moment by a threat to resign by seven members of the Cabinet—Churchill, Neville Chamberlain, Bridgeman, Amery, Joynson-Hicks, Cunliffe-Lister, and one other whose identity is not known.

UP TO THE TIME we go to press music has not been fascized in Italy. The fascization of everything else, if not yet completed, is well in progress. We commented in our issue of April 14, from cable dispatches, on the dispersal of the congress of Italian professors. Italian newspapers, now at hand, give further light. By some oversight fascization of philosophy had been so completely neglected that the salaries of professors of philosophy were recently increased by the Government without previously obtaining any assurance that the brand of philosophy taught would bear the Fascist label. And these ungrateful, scheming wretches convened at Milan the last week in March and opened their congress with a report containing a criticism of the recent law limiting the freedom of universities. At once Professor Carlino of Pisa, a champion of Fascism,

jumps up to defend his cause. His eulogy of the Fascist state brings roars of protest from the floor. To restore order Professor Martinetto, president of the congress, begs the speaker to desist from expression of political views. Carlino leaves the hall. At the next session the congress receives a communication from Senator Mangiagalli, Fascist Mayor of Milan and rector of the university where the congress is being held. "With a deep sense of patriotism, in order to avoid possible regrettable incidents," he informs the president of the congress "of the inadvisability of continuing the sessions." The congress is closed. Mangiagalli is proclaimed a hero in what is left of the Italian newspapers.

**C**ULTURE IS HUMMING in these United States. There recently came to our desk an announcement of the Indiana Literary Field Day, an institution said to be modeled after the track meet and avowedly intended "to make the arts exciting." Now we have received an announcement of the "Annual Hog-Calling Contest" to be held at the University of Tennessee. Three cash prizes will be awarded by a board composed of three judges (all colonels) who will consider five points—volume, variety, enticement, musical quality, and facial expression—in making their decisions. The occasion is a farmers' convention; nothing is said as to whether or not students are eligible to compete, but in these days when obscenity lurks in literature, seditious in economics, and irreligion in science Hog Calling, Its Theory and Practice might make an excellent substitute in State universities for some of the naughty subjects dropped from the curricula. It is safe, cultural, and of practical value. Few students in an agricultural community ever feel the need after graduation to translate an ode of Horace or solve a differential equation, but many will be called to call hogs. Why not learn to do it aesthetically and efficiently?

**J.** M. DENT, who died in England on May 9, was known to Americans chiefly through the fact that his name appeared so often on the title-pages of Dutton books. The house of Dutton has long imported from the house of Dent; but Mr. Dent was notable on his own account. He was a publisher with an idea, as any successful publisher is, and his idea first took form in the Temple Series, the earliest of his independent ventures. This was to be not merely a series of reprints valuable for the titles it made available; it was to be a collection of books beautiful for their binding and design. That both ends were achieved any possessor of the dainty volumes is aware. There followed the Temple Shakespeare, of which the same thing may be said; and toward the end of his life Mr. Dent was occupied with the King's Treasury of Literature, less significant, perhaps, as it is certainly less known. But he will be most famous for his creation of Everyman's Library, the most ambitious and the most popular series of modern times. Mr. Dent had hoped to see the library number a thousand titles. That it numbered 780 at his death is sufficient tribute to the idea and to the man who had it. If we are now a little past the day when we want books as preciously designed as some of the Dent books were, we still may be grateful to him for the emphasis he placed upon the physical properties of books destined for a wide circulation. American publishers, who with a few remarkable exceptions still lack taste in this matter, may well study this Englishman's career.

## From Dayton to New York

**T**HE educational authorities of the City of New York have combined in a short series of acts the intolerance which led to the Scopes trial, the stupidity which caused Bimba's arrest, and the un-American autocracy which brought Lusk to public discredit.

The Union of East and West and the League of Neighbors planned a meeting at the Morris High School to celebrate Peace Week. The speakers were to be Arthur Garfield Hays and James Weldon Johnson. Although Governor Smith and Mayor Walker indorsed the meeting, Mr. Gibney, an employee of the Department of Education (possibly merely a new immigrant unfamiliar with American ideas of freedom), banned the peace meeting and started a real fight by exhibiting the official Department of Education blacklist. With pride he recited that certain persons and organizations were barred from speaking in the schools. Hays and Johnson were under the ban. The objection to Hays was his irreligiosity as evidenced in his defense of Scopes. Now the Civil Liberties Union had been aware of active discrimination by the educational authorities for many years. The Teachers Union, the Community Church, and various trade unions had been bedeviled by the Board of Education's policy. Gibney boasted that the Rev. John Nevin Sayre could not speak in the schools and said that the Rev. John Haynes Holmes was highly dangerous.

The matter had to be tested. The petition for Peace Week had been denied, so a new petition in the name of the Civil Liberties Union was filed, on May 17, for a meeting on May 21. The principal of the Stuyvesant High School approved and signed the petition. The educational powers waited until the late afternoon of May 21 to consider this petition. They then denied the application, not on the ground previously stated, because Hays was irreligious, Holmes a dangerous divine, Sayre against all wars. This time it stated that the American Civil Liberties Union was barred because of some of the views of Roger Baldwin, its director and secretary, and Allen Olmstead, a Philadelphia attorney. As to Roger Baldwin, the Board of Education doubtless got its data from the garbled and discredited records of the Lusk Committee. His crime appeared to be a legitimate belief in free speech. Olmstead, an attorney, member of the American Legion, and a Wilson Democrat, represented the Civil Liberties Union before a congressional committee, which devoted itself to heckling him.

The educational authorities have shifted and squirmed and crawled, and at last have fallen back on reasons which may make this the most important free-speech fight this country has ever seen. The free-school system must be kept free, not only from loose charges but from discrimination and intolerance. Most school auditoriums are lying idle most evenings. There is no pressure to give the shadow of excuse to a Gibney blacklist, or to discrimination by a small group of censors. The schools are for the use of all and the Civil Liberties Union should fight for the free use of schools by all except those seeking commercial private profit or committing actual crime.

The eternal fight for freedom goes on. This time the scene shifts from Dayton to Fifty-ninth Street and Park Avenue, New York City. Rural papers please note, and be not too unkind.

## “Al” Smith Is Right Again

GOVERNOR SMITH knows what to do about housing, and he knows what to do about water-power. That is perhaps more than we have a right to expect in any politician. His housing bill for New York State, somewhat battered but still vital, is launched; his water-power bill, however, has been dropped down the legislative trap-door. The admirable project for a State Power Authority to hold the last of New York's natural resources in the people's name, and to develop them in the people's interest, was choked to death some months ago. And now the Miller Water-Power Commission, staunchly Republican, and staunchly committed to the principle of the greatest good to the smallest number, is greasing the skids down which two millions of horse-power may slide into the ample laps of Mr. du Pont, Mr. Mellon's aluminum company, and the General Electric Company.

These three companies have organized the Frontier Corporation, which will be charmed to receive anything that the people of New York have to give away. Nor will they—generous fellows—charge the people of New York more than 10 per cent per annum on the gift. That is, until such time as learned counsel, learned consulting engineers, learned certified public accountants, and learned actuaries with many tears announce that the corporation is starving to death and that a reappraisal of the tangible assets is in order. At which time the 10 per cent may, by due process of law, be boosted to 20.

The Water-Power Commission is slated to go out of existence January 1, 1927, under the provisions of the Hughes reorganization plan. It has seven months in which to swing its gallipots of grease while the Frontier Corporation stands with outstretched arms below. “The report of the State Engineer,” says Attorney General Ottinger, one of the commissioners, “will undoubtedly suggest the amount of rentals or rates to be paid by those who are to develop the power.” The power to be developed is New York's half of the rapids of the St. Lawrence River. Mr. Ottinger goes on to say that the terms under which the St. Lawrence is to be given to a private monopoly must include a “sufficiently comprehensive” recapture clause and “additional periods” within which rates may be adjusted. Which we take to mean that for the State of New York ever to recapture the Frontier Corporation after it gets under way would be sufficiently incomprehensible; while the “additional periods” just cry for reappraisals along the lines indicated above.

Governor Smith has won an unexpected ally in his battle to hold what Mr. Ottinger wants to give away. This ally stands high in the councils of private corporations. If economic determinism were the iron law which many believe, he would not be kicking the struts out from under Mr. Ottinger's skids. But he is. Mr. Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, discussed water-power before the 9,000 delegates of the National Electric Association in Atlantic City shortly after Ottinger and Co. had spoken. What he had to say, coming from such a man in such a place at such a time, is of the utmost importance.

Personally, I prefer [he said] that the construction and ownership of such an enterprise [water-power control] should be in the hands of a public corporation, the stock of which should be government-owned, with the provision that the corporation finance the enterprise with its own securities. Our experience with the War Finance Corporation, which is a wholly public concern, and with the farm loan banks and the federal reserve banks, which certainly have a large public character, leads me to believe that we can obtain men of technical qualification and high purpose, free from political bias, to administer these enterprises in such a way that development can be most advantageously achieved with justice to all interests, public and private alike. The alleged fear of tax-exempt securities is nothing more than a fire-cracker thrown by the roadside, designed to scare. . . . If the government prefers to use water for navigation or irrigation rather than for power, I think it should have the right to do so without protest, much less opposition, from any private power company. But the water must be used. . . . If the dams really serve the great purposes of navigation and flood control, which are clearly governmental activities, then it seems to me public ownership of them cannot be objected to.

Mr. Young thus ties the specific question of power to the greater question of regional planning. Waterways and flood prevention are immemorial government functions. The pharaohs were diking the Nile 6,000 years ago. A dam in a navigable river cannot be built with an eye to power only; these other functions, both of the highest importance, must come into the picture. Obviously the government cannot control them without controlling the dam. This logic is particularly applicable to the St. Lawrence. It is folly to suppose that a private corporation owning the dam and intent on maximum dividends to its stockholders would ever pause in its profitable activities long enough to take navigation and flood prevention into consideration. Not unless there was sufficient cash inducement for such stoppage.

Mr. Young takes the position in no uncertain terms that power sites should be built and operated by companies in which the government owns the stock. This has the advantage over operating them by a government department directly that it tends to remove them somewhat from political control. He has reason to know whereof he speaks when he says that capable administrators can be found for public corporations of this nature. Besides those which he named, he need only look across the St. Lawrence to the Ontario Hydro-electric—or south to the Panama Canal.

Mr. Young's flat statement lends strong support to the plain duty of the people of New York in the premises. Three years ago they voted more than two to one against the surrender of even 3 per cent of the Adirondack holdings to private corporations for power development. They must break the intimacy between Mr. Ottinger and the Frontier Corporation—or any other private corporation. They must hold the two millions of horse-power for their children and their children's children. And they have only seven months in which to do it. If they cannot in that time scare the Republican bosses—as they have been scared before—into supporting the Governor, they will be guilty of tolerating the robbery of their own children.

## Pennsylvania and Oregon

THE overwhelming triumph of Congressman Vare in the Pennsylvania senatorial primary is the third successive slap to the President. The defeat of Senator Stanfield is the fourth. In Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Oregon he has backed the wrong horses. To Pittsburgh went Secretary Mellon to make his first political speech. In it he assured his fellow-citizens that a vote for his candidate, Senator Pepper, was a vote for Coolidge. With him appeared Secretary Davis. Senator Pepper likewise did his utmost to identify his own candidacy with Mr. Coolidge. Mr. Mellon went straight back to the White House, where he assured the President that his candidate would receive a majority of 150,000—the figure modestly claimed by Senator Pepper in a jubilant interview just after the polls closed. It is, therefore, impossible for the White House to explain away this result as something not affecting it. Despite the President's declaration that he would not enter local contests he went in as deeply as possible without a direct public appeal. He has only himself to thank for this public rebuke and for the fact that three of the most important State machines of his party are now in the hands of men alienated from him. That, of course, does not mean that his renomination is as yet endangered. Vare in Pennsylvania, Watson in Indiana, and Smith in Illinois are loyal party men, and so doubtless is the winner in Oregon. They will forget their hostility to Coolidge if it pays them to do so.

Yet the fact is undeniable that Mr. Coolidge has received a genuine setback and that his stupid policy in Pennsylvania has increased the growing hostility to him in Congress. He excused Senators Watson and Robinson from voting for the World Court. He insisted on Senator McKinley's voting for it and promised to aid him. He then declined to help him, and McKinley was defeated. He helped Pepper, and Pepper, too, is kicked out. This is not the course to win him enthusiastic party loyalty or a result to commend him to party workers. Nor will the fact that the three Senators who have thus far come up for renomination after voting for the World Court have been defeated. The truth is that in every State there were mixed motives at work, with the liquor issue playing a larger role than the World Court, or President Coolidge, or anything else. The executive order to use local officials in federal dry-enforcement work, clashing with the President's own stand on States' rights, will give him more trouble.

As for Senator Pepper's defeat, it removes from the Senate a man of scholarship and ability who has been thoroughly Rooseveltian in that he has been for the "gang" when it was to his interest to be so and against it when he desired the votes of the other crowd. Heralded as the leading Episcopal layman, his cloak of religion, constantly worn, has not kept him from doing precisely what the machine desired. He is a "Christian" believer in war and armaments. A consistent compromiser, he gradually lost the respect of his colleagues. Liberals the country over prefer an out-and-out machine politician like Mr. Vare to one of these holy compromisers who are forever protesting their virtue and then yielding at every salient point. Mr. Vare is a city boss—nothing else. He, like Mr. Mellon (for Mr. Pepper), spent money like water. If a political principle should stray across Mr. Vare's path he would not recog-

nize it. Yet the fact is that his nomination was the more desirable outcome; the important thing was to block the Mellon-Pepper machine, which in its cold-blooded effort to dominate our political and business life bodes ill for the entire republic. Now, we hope, Governor Pinchot will run independently and give the decent Republicans of Pennsylvania a chance to vote for some one else than Vare.

Naturally, all who are passionately devoted to certain causes will read into the outcome, both in Oregon and Pennsylvania, a triumph for their particular reform. Thus, those opposed to the World Court rejoice over the defeat of Pepper, while the wets are jubilant over the election of Vare, and the drys are elated because the Vare vote was less than that of Pepper and Pinchot combined and because the dry candidate for governor was successful. The wet issue played a great role in the Pennsylvania primary and will continue to do so; Mr. Vare's success will make various weak-kneed politicians turn to the wet band-wagon. But it must not be forgotten that the Vare Philadelphia machine would have registered an enormous vote for Vare even if that gentleman had become the head of the Anti-Saloon League two days before the election. Straight popular referendums on prohibition are badly needed.

Senator Stanfield of Oregon is no loss to the Senate. A party henchman, he failed to distinguish himself, and a charge of public intoxication made against him undoubtedly helped to bring about his defeat. But he had also to compete in the primary with seven other candidates who presented a variety of issues. Far clearer is the situation in Iowa, where the contest which ends on June 7 is a straight-out pro- and anti-Coolidge battle, Senator Cummins versus ex-Senator Brookhart. The result will tell a plain story.

## Melchizedek, Ucalegon, and Ishi

There be two men of all mankind  
That I should like to know about;  
But search and question where I will,  
I cannot ever find them out.

Melchizedek he praised the Lord,  
And gave some wine to Abraham;  
But who can tell what else he did  
Must be more learned than I am.

Ucalegon he lost his house  
When Agamemnon came to Troy;  
But who can tell me who he was—  
I'll pray the gods to give him joy.

There be two men of all mankind  
That I'm forever thinking on:  
They chase me everywhere I go—  
Melchizedek, Ucalegon.

THUS Mr. E. A. Robinson, through one of his earlier poems, introduced into literature a theme of profound importance. For there were Melchizedeks before Abraham and Ucalegons before Troy, and there have been many of both in the thirty centuries since. Historical small fry though they are, they know the way to the heart of a leisurely reader of epics, biographies, and solemn chronicles. There are bigger fish in the sea of past time, but every now and then a little fellow flits across our wake or

flirts a fin far out among the waves; and if we are at all susceptible to human nature in its pure state we follow with our eye until nothing more remains to be discovered—as, indeed, little ever is.

Max Beerbohm has confessed that he is one of these voyagers among the obscure, one of these lingerers over the nobodies who rear their hands for a moment out of old books. It has been Max's distinction to confer a kind of immortality upon a nameless clergyman who one day, according to Boswell, was talking in a company which contained Dr. Johnson. Nothing is known of the clergyman before that day, and nothing since. Max has only guessed what he looked like, what kind of gloves he wore, how he sat in his chair as the subject of Bishop South's sermons was broached. Even then it cannot be known what he thought in detail of those sermons or whether after what the Doctor did to him he ever thought about anything again. For as the conversation rose to heights where the expression of an opinion began to seem in order, the clergyman ventured his—how seriously or significantly his we do not know. Enough to know that Dr. Johnson paused for an instant to squelch him and went on, leaving the speaker of six words submerged in the ocean of obscurity.

Scholars might well spend some of their hours in search of other bright nonentities. Is there not a millionaire who could be induced to found an annual fellowship—the holders to collect, year in and year out, specimens of the illustrious obscure? There is Plutarch's soldier, for instance, who, being found absent many nights in succession from the camp of Fabius, was suspected of interest in a woman of the nearby town, and whose punishment was to be brought before his commander and placed under a special guard. The guard, said Fabius, was waiting now within a special tent; and of course it was the woman. There is the 1365th person who wrote to Mark Twain asking for permission to dramatize "Tom Sawyer," and whom Mark Twain singled out for a terrible answer. Who was he, and what were the differences in his soul before and after? There is "Cinna, a poet," in Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar." There are more specimens than Melchizedek in the Old and New Testaments—indeed, what of the woman taken in adultery, who surely stepped out of nothingness for as brief a time and as great an effect as anybody ever did? The field is limitless.

The research will be most painless when it is concerned with remote men, men whose bones will never feel the hand that turns them gently over. Ishi, the last Yahi Indian, who strayed down from the passes of California in 1911 and, terrified by trains and automobiles, pitifully capitulated before the handcuffs, guns, and pistols of his brave white captors, became the subject of as complete a record as a modest man ever caused to be set down; but Ishi is not to be envied by Melchizedek, who at least remains standing with dignity behind the one slender fact that Mr. Robinson notes. Ishi, being the last of his small tribe, got the attention of anthropologists. He sang his songs for them, he exposed his beliefs, he swam, smoked, hunted, dressed, and undressed for them; he learned to speak English and to sign checks; and before he died of tuberculosis in 1916 he let his lungs be tapped, his pulse be counted, his abdomen be X-rayed, and the soles of his feet be photographed. That, perhaps, is being a specimen with a vengeance. Better the halo of darkness for which the totally obscure may envy Melchizedek, Ucalegon.

## Furs and Fur Workers

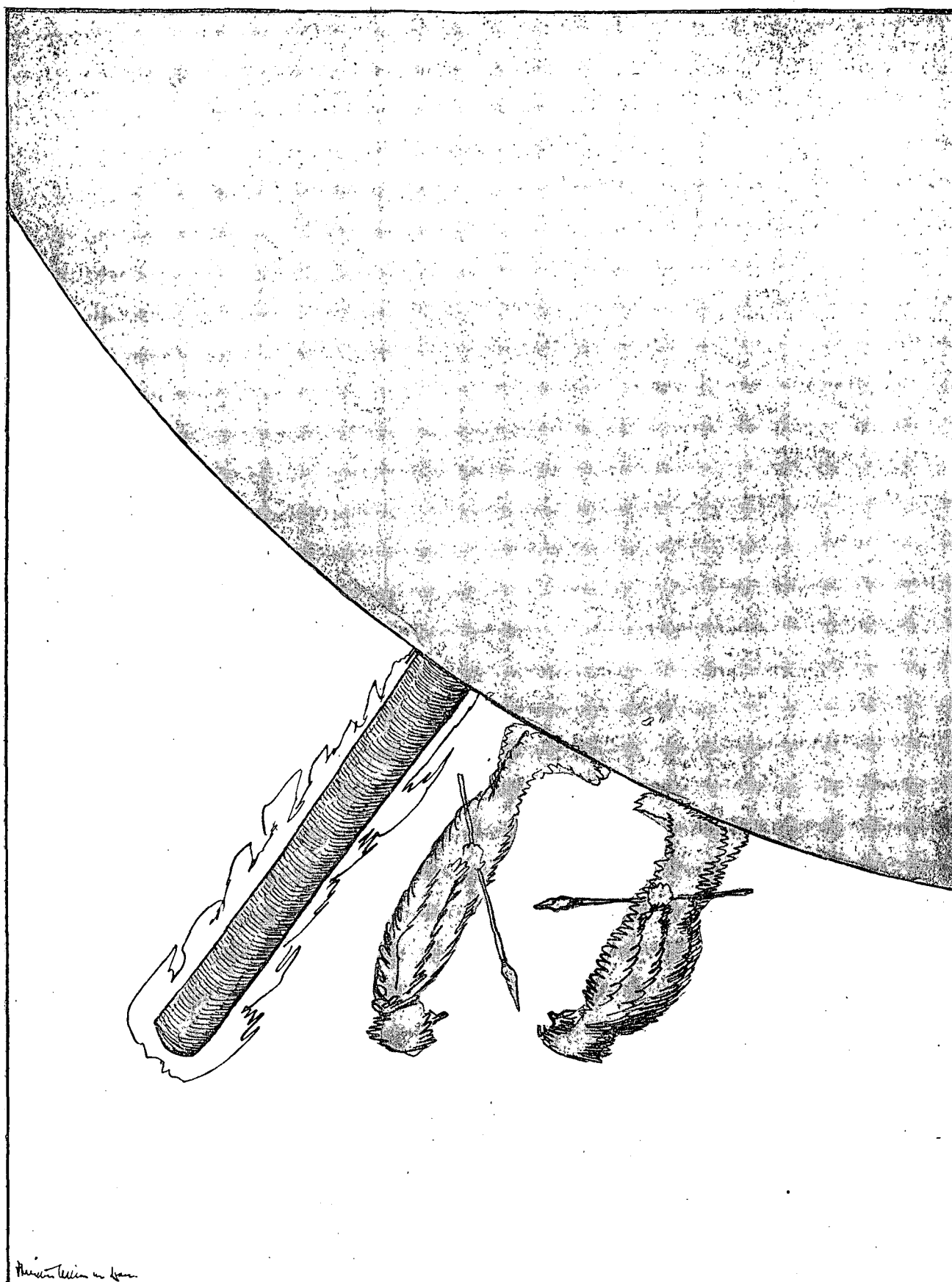
**K**EEPING up with the Joneses in these days demands a fur coat; or at the worst a fur-trimmed coat. This garment, in Northern urban centers, is as mandatory as silk stockings. Better no lunch than no fur. The higher salesmanship has set the demand deep in the folkways.

But, following the time-honored industrial precedents of this sovereign republic, nobody gives a thought to the men who stitch the furs. Fur dust attacks the respiratory system; the powerful dyes which are used in fabrication make for skin diseases. The highly seasonal character of the industry, with the attendant long months of unemployment and worry, makes, as in all the seasonal needle trades, for an abnormally high percentage of neurotics. These conditions were all plainly set forth by the New York City Health Department in 1915 when it made a special study of the industry. A new investigation has just been completed. The 1915 study showed 5.9 per cent of those examined with bronchitis; the 1926 study shows 14.5 per cent—more than doubled. Acute irritations of the nose, throat, and air passages were 29.7 per cent in 1915, and 53.9 in 1926—almost doubled. In 1915 10 per cent of the workers were over 50 years of age; in 1926 only 4 per cent; 72 per cent were under 40 years in 1915, and 85 per cent in 1926. The sinister and terrible import of these last figures needs no comment. You do not reach 50 and stay at the fur bench; only young lungs can stand it. The 1915 report outlined certain measures to check the ravages of occupational diseases. Nothing has been done to date; while the additional pressure put upon the workers by the great increase in the demand for fur products seems to have doubled the health hazard in a decade. In 1926, furthermore, 12.5 per cent of the membership of the furriers' union, or one out of eight, was found to be suffering from "distinct neurasthenia."

The total fur trade of the United States now reaches \$200,000,000 a year. New York City accounts for three-quarters of it all. These furs are fabricated by 12,000 fur workers. They are 100 per cent organized in the furriers' union—four large locals cooperating through one joint board. The union has won relatively good wages; it has won the closed shop; it has regulated hours somewhat—but it has made to date no inroads on occupational diseases, and done little to mitigate the curse of unemployment. In October, 1923, for instance, at the peak of the busy season, 11,762 workers were employed. By January, 1924, only 6,065 were at work. Last February the union called a strike, and this strike still drags on. Its objectives are the 40-hour week; no overtime; an unemployment-benefit fund to be maintained by the industry; and an equal division of work in the shop. These objectives are aimed straight at the heart of those evils from which the workers principally suffer—disease and unemployment. The 40-hour week is the chief demand, and it has the double benefit of reducing the time during which one breathes fur dust and spacing out the annual load of work.

These are reasonable demands; they are human, necessary, vital. This appalling increase in disease, this ruthless destruction of the tissue of young lungs, this throwing of workers on the scrapheap by 40 must stop. This is a strike for the right to breathe, and it must be won.

## At the South Pole



FIRST SOUTH POLANDER: *I hear they dropped three different flags at the North Pole a couple of weeks ago.*  
SECOND SOUTH POLANDER: *Gee! There must be a lot of oil up there.*

## Nicaragua and *The Nation*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I see little in your pages about what you would characteristically call the "brutal refusal" of our Government to recognize the new Government of the Nicaraguan people. Why is this?

Once more our Government has made up its own unaided mind as to the legality of a Latin-American Government, and has made it up adversely, and has refused to extend to that Government the diplomatic recognition which would enable it to live. Our Government is killing it. Why do you not protest more?

Can it be because Chamorro, the head of the new Nicaraguan Government, is a "conservative"? Can it be because Chamorro negotiated with us our Nicaraguan treaty of 1916 whereby we acquired in Nicaragua a canal route and a naval base and whereby we gave Nicaragua a considerable sum of money and whereby the control of Nicaraguan finances passed into the hands of American bankers and of State Department appointees? Can it be because you are prejudiced against Chamorro?

(I hope you will not mind the transparent insincerity of this attack upon you. It is a mere rhetorical dodge.)

Will you continue, sir, to denounce the policy of non-recognition in the case of those foes of "Wall Street" who dwell at Moscow and will you continue to fail to do battle lustily against the policy of non-recognition in the case of those friends of American business who dwell at Managua?

I challenge you to hew to the line of your principles, let chips and Central American presidencies fall where they may. I point out to you a noble example. It is the State Department.

The State Department is hewing to the line of its principles absolutely steadfastly and impartially. It told me long ago, in the reign of Woodrow Wilson, that hereafter in the region immediately to the south of us it would recognize no government coming into power through a coup d'etat.

It thereupon declined to recognize the "capitalistic" but "revolutionary" Tinoco in Costa Rica. It sold munitions of war to the present "radical" but "constitutional" regime in Mexico against opponents "conservative" but "revolutionary" and "anti-constitutional." It now accuses Chamorro in Nicaragua of having come into power by "revolutionary" means and of being "constitutionally" ineligible to the Nicaraguan presidency; and it thereupon refuses to recognize Chamorro, although his record is one of undeviating friendship for American interests.

The Solarzano Nicaraguan Government which preceded the Chamorro Nicaraguan Government was "elected" with the help of "labor." Because it was "elected," our State Department recognized it. The Chamorro Nicaraguan Government, though "conservative," was not, according to our State Department, "lawfully" put into office. Therefore our "conservative" State Department refuses to recognize it.

Could anything be grander, from the standpoint of principles? I expect you to be equally grand.

I expect you to conduct a vigorous and vehement and successful press campaign on behalf of the recognition of the "conservative" Chamorro in Nicaragua in accordance with the principles of George Washington and of *The*

*Nation* in favor of non-intervention in the internal affairs of foreign countries and in favor of the recognition of all governments which in fact govern the countries which they claim to govern.

Will you? Of course.

Now I will give you another point.

Our State Department grounds its refusal to recognize Chamorro technically upon a certain treaty of 1923. This treaty, which was signed by all the Central American states, though not by us, is in part an effort to outlaw coup-d'etat governments in Central America.

We claim that Chamorro's Government is inconsistent with the treaty of 1923. Nicaragua claims that Chamorro's Government is absolutely harmonious with that treaty.

So here is a dispute regarding the interpretation of a treaty. I ask you: What is the first function of the new World Court which our Administration has coerced our Senate into accepting? Read the Covenant of the League of Nations. Read the statute of the Court. The very first function of the Court is to interpret treaties. Now please ask Mr. Kellogg: Why don't you offer to take the interpretation of the treaty of 1923 to the Court which you so trust?

Oh, well, departing from the Court, and therefore departing from jokes, let me put to you a solemn proposition solemnly. Is it our duty to endeavor to promote peace in foreign countries through the form of coercion known as non-recognition? Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State, and Mr. Francis White, head of the State Department's Division of Latin-American Affairs, are pursuing that policy conscientiously, consistently, and ably. They are pursuing it unmoved by radical clamor or by financial pressure. They claim that it is the only road to peace and happiness and progress in Central America and in the Caribbean. They absolutely admirably follow it even when it advantages "radical" like Calles in Mexico.

Are you going to subscribe to their policy when it happens to disadvantage a "conservative" like Chamorro in Nicaragua? Or do you think that it is the highest duty of this country to be itself peaceful and non-aggressive and to refrain from any and all coercions of foreign countries?

Non-recognition is nothing but coercion. The non-recognized Central American government cannot borrow any money from abroad and so it perishes. Non-recognition is in reality just as coercive as war.

This country is now by far the most powerful country in the world. It is supereminently the top-dog country in the world. I discard for the moment all arguments drawn from morality and humanity. I address myself only to a argument drawn from security. Our security is never to awaken any resentments or revenges arising from any unnecessary exercises of our power. Our security, in the midst of our greatness and grandeur, is to arouse no envy or enmity by entertaining any opinions or by achieving any actions, whether diplomatic or military, regarding the internal affairs of any foreign country at any time. That is what I venture to think.

I hope you agree.

Washington, D. C., May 14

WILLIAM HARD

# Home—Job—or Both? The Woman's Problem

By EUNICE FULLER BARNARD

ASK any intelligent middle-class woman whom she most envies. She may say Madame Curie, Louise Homer, Dorothy Canfield—any one of a miscellaneous list, according to her taste in notabilities. But if your ear is acute, for three out of four names you will detect a common denominator. By and large they will be women who have combined professional achievement with successful motherhood. That at least would seem the indication from the thousands of letters that recently rolled in from all parts of the country upon a woman's magazine which ventured a series of articles on the feasibility of a combination. Overnight apparently the demand for it has risen from a wicked murmuring to a widely inclusive shout. Even the *New York Times* and the *Atlantic Monthly* have heard it without a quiver.

The president of Smith College has referred as a matter of course to "the problem that confronts almost every educated woman today: how to combine a normal life of marriage and motherhood with a life of intellectual activity, professional or otherwise." And on behalf of this dilemma two of the chief women's colleges in the United States have made the first radical innovations in their curriculum in half a century. The problem has passed the acid test of economics: people are giving their money toward its solution.

These are amazing facts, for they mean the beginnings of a general tolerance, and even sanction, for an aspiration that a few years ago was being popularly dismissed after the manner of "This Freedom." They are society's first gesture toward affirmation of a mother's right to an individual as well as a generic occupation.

This shift in public sentiment appears to have occurred not because vast numbers of wives and mothers have already taken up professions or any other occupations outside the home but perhaps precisely because they have not. It is to be traced rather to the constantly augmented number of them who have had such occupations before marriage and to the smaller but similarly increasing group with college education. The census of 1920 shows 9 per cent of all married women in gainful occupations and 46 per cent of all others over fifteen years of age. It is obvious that marriage is constantly and cumulatively creating a substantial proportion of women who have lost their direct economic relation with society and who—various testimony seems to indicate—have gained painful personal experience of the incongruity of the methods of the home with those of other institutions of modern life. Now apparently they have attained the courage of their numbers—perhaps stimulated also by women's increasing success (conspicuously mirrored in the census) in entering the professions and the higher positions in industry and trade.

The other day I came across a college acquaintance who a few years after graduation had already achieved a promising career as biological chemist. Her marriage to an electrical engineer had taken her to a small manufacturing town. I asked whether she found it possible to do anything at her experimentation. "Oh, no," she said, "I have another full-time job. There are the house, the garden, the meals, the mending, the children's schedules, much

entertaining, all to manage with two maids. You see, I am a chatelaine." I noted the word. It came to symbolize for me the step which in America the trained woman worker customarily takes upon her marriage—from the twentieth century back into the Middle Ages. That is, she leaves specialized, expert work in a highly organized industry or profession for a congeries of more or less primitive occupations, for no one of which has she usually particular aptitude, scientific comprehension, or even adequate technical training.

Nor is her role usually the purely managerial one of chatelaine. According to the government figures, more than eighteen million of the twenty million women engaged in home-making—the largest occupational group in our boasted modern civilization—must spend their lives entirely unaided as jacks at all the trades the home embraces, many of which if studied singly might be dignified to the status of applied science or art. "Utopian suggestions that home-making is (or ought to be regarded as) a profession," says Dr. David Snedden in a work on vocational education, "render no service in mitigating the hard reality that for the great majority it must long continue as a composite of ill-defined and imperfectly standardized arts." Nor have all the vacuum cleaners and prepared mayonnaise with which modern industry has changed the aspect of home-making altered the inner reality of its diversity of function and responsibility.

This situation has so long survived both the entrance of women into industry and their higher education not only because it is the darling tradition of society but also because it is the earnest conviction of the majority that it is essential to the successful rearing of children. Oddly enough, however, child care, which is assumed to be the core of women's generic function of home-making, is the one thing in which they have never been instructed. For thirty years "domestic science" and "home economics" courses have been strewn lavishly through the country. But, as a study under the auspices of the University of Chicago showed, they still consist almost exclusively of the technical processes of cooking and sewing. It is not surprising, therefore, that the actual results of the system are not the sturdiest support of the faith that inspires it. According to the statement of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, maternal ignorance is largely responsible for the 65 per cent of infant deaths caused by faulty feeding and improper natal and prenatal care, as well as for our appalling proportion of undernourished school-children. How many mental and emotional wrecks it has also caused we are but just beginning to realize.

It is therefore with some of these facts taken into account that women now undertake to readjust the balance between their individual and generic functions. What are their current proposals toward this end? As might be expected, they represent three distinct points of view—right, left, and middle—toward society's major premise that for the sake of the race the mother's function of child-nurture must always be dominant. The party of the left suggests that women make parenthood and profession coordinate but independent, as men have done; the party of

the right that they develop parenthood itself to a professional status. The compromise party believes that along with their major profession of parenthood women may as a minor interest still cherish and develop their individual talents. The first creed is held and practiced by the more advanced young feminists. The other two are sponsored by women's colleges. No one of them suggests, as the older socialistic theory used to, the scrapping of the home.

Even the younger feminists ask only its economic and administrative reorganization. They simply set out individually to maintain the home according to the principles that govern other institutions of modern society—specialization and exchange of services. In their familiar scheme, while the mother continues with her individual vocation, the children are under the expert care of the modern nursery school or the country day-school. For the rest she employs such specialized household and nursery servants as her budget allows. This is the most radical of the proposals only in that it denies society's traditional contention that an essential factor in the rearing of children is the hovering presence of the mother.

Upon that contention, on the contrary (whether on grounds of biological law, of mystical connection as in Ellen Key's hypothesis, or merely of the mother's greater personal interest is not stated), is based the organized effort of the two women's colleges that have taken up the matter. Indeed it is interesting to note that after fifty years of careful avoidance of the subject the colleges are using this opportunity for a complete official recognition of motherhood. There it has always lain, just beyond their borders, no more to be recognized than Mexico in revolution, yet the ultimate destination of some 60 per cent of their graduates and in one or another of its aspects the chief interest of some 15 per cent more.

The belated recognition of this overwhelming element in their graduates' future is not surprising. In the early days of course the women's college had but a single aim, and the student was for demonstration purposes only. She was there to prove for her sex and for the college that her intellectual capacity, equally with the male's, justified the time and expense of higher education. So she was carefully set the same puzzles that were given to her brother at Harvard or Yale. Whether these were the puzzles whose solution would be most useful in after life was asked in her case even less than in his. But the experiment was an amazing success. She solved her puzzles more patiently and quite as creditably as her brother. She kept her health, her looks, her much-discussed femininity, as well as her non-academic sister. She showed an equal desire for marriage, and, in spite of her handicap of superior education, often achieved it. What happened to her thereafter the colleges, like the popular novelist, felt to be none of their concern.

Twenty-five years of successful proof, twenty-five years of increasing popularity, money-raising, and physical expansion, and now for the first time the women's colleges pause to survey their course in terms of its effect on the girls themselves, their subsequent life and needs. What they see is a lack of integration, a preparation for an alien calling suddenly dispersed in the multiplex details of home-making. Vassar College, which was first in the field, has taken a realistic course. It has given its students an opportunity to secure in college a groundwork for the vocation they will in the main ultimately adopt, and it has taken

steps toward elevating that vocation to the status of a profession. Thus after sixty years Herbert Spencer's dream comes true, and a school of parenthood rises on a college campus.

Vassar has created the Division of Euthenics, for the study of parenthood and the family. Euthenics, a word coined by the late Ellen Richards, a Vassar graduate, is defined as the science of improving the individual through the adaptation of his environment. In Vassar's interpretation it includes correlated courses in nutrition, sanitation, psychology, and economics. In any one of these a student may specialize, taking subsidiary courses in one of the others. The new euthenics building, the gift of a graduate, will house a laboratory for child study, including a 24-hour-a-day nursery for babies, and a nursery school for preschool children. This to the end that "students of child psychology and hygiene may have at least as good opportunities for direct contact with children as they would be expected to have with the material studied in zoology and botany." Thus a large and conspicuous group of young women will have an opportunity to acquire scientific familiarity with the field of their traditional generic occupation, both as a subject of graduate research and undergraduate instruction. Similar opportunities, though less definitely correlated toward the objective of parenthood, are being offered in several of the land-grant colleges of the West.

Smith College takes a middle ground. It too assumes that in the future as in the past the mother's main task will and should be the personal rearing of her children. But it has set for itself the study of how she may combine with this some continuous development of her now suppressed individual talents. With the financial cooperation of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation it has established an institute "for the coordination of women's interests," which is "to discover concrete, practical means by which women may reach this necessary unity of their family and other interests."

To this end it hopes to recast the scene of both parenthood and the professions. First it will attempt to discover and to demonstrate "methods of releasing women from wasteful occupations in their own homes," by some form of local cooperative household service. Its two initial demonstrations in Northampton are to be a cooperative nursery and a cooperative home assistance organization. The second part of its program calls for "a study of possible modifications in the technical training for the professions with a view to the opening of new subdivisions adapted to part-time work and to work which can be carried on by women at home."

These, then, are the conscious attempts of our time to integrate woman—attempts which in a few years may be profoundly accelerated by economic forces and increasing community care of small children. Whether as a career, however, or in order to obtain another career, women are first having to put their minds on the home. For women of intelligence cannot as a class be freed from it or genuinely immersed in it until they reorganize it. Whether at last, with scientific training for parenthood open to them on the one hand and genuinely adequate methods for shifting some of its responsibilities on the other, women of their own free choice will tend to become stabilized as a professional parent class or diversified as human beings of different capacities and professions will be an interesting revelation of the future.

# The New Northwest Passage

By BENTON MACKAYE

WHEN Hendrik Hudson in 1609 sailed past Manhattan Island and looked upon the beckoning headlands of the Palisades he thought that he had found the long-sought Northwest Passage to China and the Far East.

Alas, he had only reached Hoboken. It was 315 years later, in 1924, that Roald Amundsen finally did locate the "Passage," and found—as had long been known—that it was of no commercial importance whatever. But this same Amundsen, now in May, 1926, discloses a new Northwest Passage which, not only commercially but socially, is of utmost significance to the peoples of the East and West.

The accompanying map shows that the main trans-Arctic route connecting these peoples lies between America and China. This route (for us on the Atlantic coast of America) leads northward past the North Pole: it promises to bring Peking as near to us by air as the Golden Gate is now by rail. This is the new Northwest Passage.

Stefansson congratulates Amundsen on his "Magellan voyage" which, he says, inaugurates "a new epoch in world communication."

"Now that these things are done," says Amundsen in Teller, Alaska, "a new generation may continue."

But what *terra incognita* awaits this generation? The job remains perhaps to discover "Amundsen Island" within the remnant of the unexplored Arctic; perhaps also "Ellsworth Island" and "Nobile Island"; if not the whole "International Archipelago." These would be important for landing places in trans-Arctic flights, and let us hope that they will come to light. But for all intents we can now say with Peary that "the last great Earth Story has been told."

What, then, in the way of exploring, awaits a new generation? Is there surely not one more world yet left to conquer? Yes there is: There is one *terra incognita* not yet touched. And that is the world itself.

This is not the world of continents and natural harbors; it is the world of railways and of seaports. It is not the world of intricate mountain fastnesses but the world

of metropolitan fastnesses. Not the world of the uncharted river system but that of the uncharted industrial system. Civilization has conquered the wilderness, but civilization turns out to be itself a wilderness.

The wilderness of nature had its wolves and polar bears; the wilderness of civilization has its hunger and its wars. The wolves and the bears were conquered; but not till their habitat was charted and set in order. Hunger and war will yet be conquered; but not till their "habitat" (the labyrinth of industrial civilization) has been charted and set in order.

The unraveling of this tangled web is the problem of our day: it is the new exploration that awaits us.

The old exploration now drawing to a close (Marco Polo by land, Columbus by sea, Amundsen by air) has dealt with the geographic flow of terrestrial

forces—of rivers and ocean currents and air currents. The "new exploration" now emerging will deal with the geographic flow of social and industrial forces.

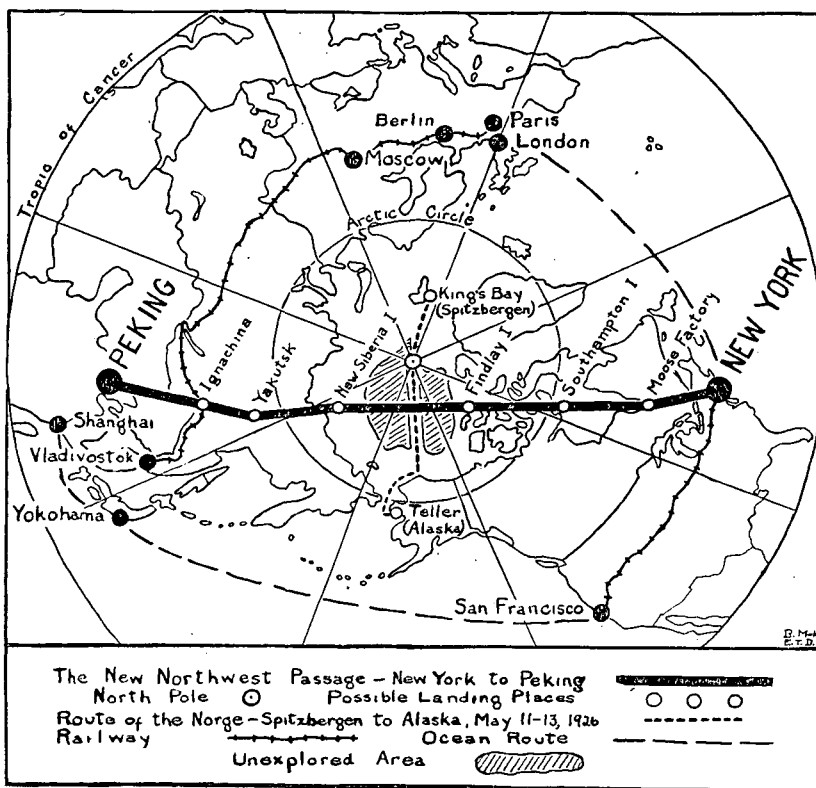
The industrial system, like a river system, is a "flow" from source to mouth. Natural resources lie at one end and population at the other. It is a flow also from one world center to another. It is in essence a geographic flow. As a new geography emerges so also does a new economics; and their combinations will make the future field of exploration.

Let us plot, in the rough, the proportionate weights, among the main world centers, of the industrial and social forces to be charted; specifically the proportionate amount, in each center, of natural resources and world's population:

APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGES OF WORLD TOTALS\*

|                                      | Foods and textiles | Iron and timber | Heat and power | All natural resources | Population |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------|------------|
| U. S. and Brit. Amer.                | 23.0               | 36.5            | 35.5           | 31.5                  | 6.5        |
| Europe .....                         | 14.0               | 26.0            | 16.0           | 18.5                  | 24.0       |
| China, Japan, Siberia                | 10.0               | 9.0             | 22.5           | 13.5                  | 29.0       |
| Tropical and Southern countries..... | 36.5               | 21.5            | 26.0           | 28.5                  | 36.5       |
| Total accounted for                  | 83.5               | 93.0            | 100.0          | 92.0                  | 96.0       |

\* From a cursory study based on United States Government statistics.



This table and the accompanying map present a vista of a portion of the new field in world charting. A little study of them shows the significant part in world affairs which America and China are destined to play.

China, midway between insular Japan and tropical India, is the heart of Eastern civilization. America is a transplant of Western civilization but young enough still to do its own thinking and to weigh the virtues and vices of the East and West. China (with Japan and Siberia) has a population about equal to that of America and Europe

combined: America has resources about equal to those of the other two centers combined. China's strength is "biologic"; America's is "geologic." Each country is new: one is young, the other is awakening. Their respective forces of enlightenment are natural leaders and cooperators in the world task of unraveling the tangle of industrial civilization.

Hence the significance of the Arctic lane to the East which Amundsen has shown us: the new Northwest Passage—strategic base line in the new exploration.

## After Dayton: A Fundamentalist Survey

By MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD

WHEN, at the close of the Scopes trial, God removed his faithful servant, William Jennings Bryan, various men and newspapers announced that now the fundamentalist menace to freedom in education was over; now the path was once more open to the general teaching of modern evolutionary science. Events have crowded upon one another's heels to disprove the assertion. Not only is the fundamentalist opposition to the theory of evolution more alive and more dangerous than ever, but other fields of thought are also being invaded.

The Scopes case itself, with the concomitant constitutionality of the Tennessee law, is still undecided; and though there is a strong movement in Tennessee to repeal the law as the Oklahoma law was repealed—though the latter is again being agitated—it emanates from the academic strongholds of Nashville, and is not likely to make much headway among the embattled Holy Rollers of the mountain districts. (Moreover, the Bible Crusaders have donated \$5,000 to fight the movement.) To offset such manifestations of awakening sanity, forty States will be in legislative session next year, as against eight in 1926, and a flood of anti-evolution bills is threatened.

Mississippi has now joined Tennessee in outlawing modern science. An anti-evolution law was enacted by the legislature on February 8, and on March 12 was signed by the Governor. To test the constitutionality of the law in the federal courts, the American Civil Liberties Union offered to assist any Mississippi taxpayer in a suit to enjoin the expenditure of public funds for the enforcement of the statute. The same offer was made to Mississippi members of the American Association of University Professors. So far no one has taken advantage of the offer. The school board of Atlanta, Georgia, has made an anti-evolution ruling. The University of Louisiana has refused a petition of students for a course on evolution. There have been public burnings of scientific works in New Jersey and Mississippi.

Perhaps the neatest bit of fundamentalist diplomacy up to date has been achieved in Texas. There the anti-evolutionists saved themselves the trouble of passing a law on the subject by working directly on the State Textbook Commission, which demanded of the publishers that they cut bodily out of all biology textbooks used in the State schools the pages referring to evolution. The State superintendent of schools, Marshall Johnston, remarked that he approved highly of the action, and that "the old-time religion was good enough" for him.

In Arkansas a forthcoming anti-evolution bill is being sponsored by the Free Will Baptists; in Washington and Oregon the foremost proponents are Baptists and Methodists, with a sprinkling of Presbyterians; in California the chief anti-evolution strength comes from the Seventh Day Adventists, who are very numerous in that State—conducting a million-dollar-a-year publishing house as one of their activities. These people have definitely announced an anti-evolution initiative measure at the next California State election in November. (A Bible-reading measure has already qualified.)

California is also blessed by the Bryan Bible League, formed in Turlock in the heart of the San Joaquin farming district, which has for its dual object opposition to evolution and the introduction of the King James version of the Bible into the public schools. This latter effort is a prime cause of contention among the fundamentalists themselves, the Seventh Day Adventists being, for doctrinal reasons, strongly opposed to it.

If the initiative measure fails, a "Bible bill," along the lines of the Miller bill defeated last year, is again to be introduced in the California Legislature at the next session by Assemblywoman Eleanor Miller. A large meeting was held in Glendale, near Los Angeles, to launch the movement, at which E. P. Clark, president of the State Board of Education, spoke strongly in favor of it. Clark presided over the meeting of the board in San Francisco last July, when through the activities of the Science League of America and other pro-evolution forces the textbooks advocating the theory of evolution were finally forced on the approved list. The new Miller bill will provide also that every school library shall have a copy of the Bible, and every teacher must have a copy in his or her home!

At the present time evolution may be taught in California "merely as a theory," and must not be presented as proved "even in private conversation between teachers and pupils." This last provision, though only implied and not explicitly demanded by the State ruling, has been definitely made by various local boards to control the actions of the teachers under them.

There have been no conspicuous recent dismissals of teachers because of their stand on evolution, though Miss Lela Scopes was refused a renewal of her contract in Kentucky as a teacher of mathematics because she would not renounce her acceptance of evolution and because "her name was against her." Professor A. L. Pickens has

resigned as professor of biology at Furman University, a Baptist institution, because he would not eliminate the teaching of evolution. A Detroit minister, Dr. Lynn H. Hough, has been accused of heresy because he "placed Darwin on as high a plane as Jesus" in a sermon. The Rev. Chester Staton was removed by the Baptists in Topeka, Kansas, because of his approval of Luther Burbank's "infidel" proclamation.

Although various scientific, liberal, rationalist, and other organizations are doing good work in opposing these attacks on science and freedom, the Science League of America remains the only body, appealing to both scientists and laymen, specifically formed to counteract, by educational methods, the fundamentalist war against evolution and the present sectarian effort to unite church and state in America. The Science League, though hampered by lack of endowment, now has branches organized or in process of organization in a number of States, and members in practically all States and in all the larger universities and colleges. Its national headquarters is in San Francisco. Vicious attacks being made on the league by several fundamentalist periodicals prove that it is drawing blood.

A recent incident in Alameda, a city on the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay, illustrates the need and function of such an organization, and also throws illumination on the strength of fundamentalism even in that part of California. A new million-dollar high school was being erected, on the walls of which were to be engraved the names of various great men. The science department was requested to furnish the names of two scientists for the science wing, and suggested Newton and Darwin. The board of education rejected Darwin's name (because, according to one member, Darwinism was "opposed to certain fundamental religious teachings") and substituted that of Agassiz, an anti-Darwinian.

The alumni association of the school protested, and the Science League heard of the controversy. In cooperation with the alumni it not only made strong objections to this insult to the greatest of naturalists, and through him to all contemporary biology, but it trained newspaper attention on the board until the latter was obliged to call another meeting to reconsider its decision. Finally the board found a way out of the dilemma by rescinding its entire former action and ordaining that no names should be chiseled on the building at all! Virgil's and Franklin's, already installed, were removed, and the offense to Darwin and evolution was avoided.

A new manifestation of fundamentalist anti-science activity is to be seen in attacks on the governmental scientific departments. The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Bureau of American Ethnology are freely denounced by fundamentalist spokesmen. Danger still threatens in Washington, D. C., where last year's school appropriation bill carried a "disrespect to the Bible" sting in its tail; and Congressmen Blanton and Upshaw propose to make this provision a federal law if they can accomplish it.

Augustus Thomas recently made public a federal amendment drawn up by Bryan, proclaiming this "a Christian country" and providing for deportation of "infidel" aliens. This measure is not dead. Other Congressmen and Senators have been quoted similarly; and the

introduction of a national anti-evolution amendment in the next Congress is not improbable.

Who is to be Bryan's successor still remains undecided. His son has neither the personal influence nor the prestige to be very dangerous. The chief contestants for the honor seem to be the Rev. John Roach Straton of New York, who says "Better wipe out all schools than undermine belief in the Bible by permitting the teaching of evolution," and Rev. William B. Riley of Minneapolis and Los Angeles, executive secretary of the World Christian Fundamental Association, who predicts the organization of every State against evolution within twelve months. A Southern aspirant is Rev. T. T. Martin, of Tennessee and Mississippi, who ornamented Dayton with his "Hell in the High Schools" banner. Billy Sunday is, of course, a perennial, but his power seems to be waning.

A formidable sign of the times is the organization of new national anti-evolution societies. The chief of these are the Bible Crusaders and Defenders of the Faith and the closely allied Supreme Kingdom, the object of both of which is to "put every teacher of evolution out of our tax-supported schools and colleges." The Supreme Kingdom was launched at Atlanta by Edward Young Clarke, Imperial Wizard Emeritus of the Ku Klux Klan, and Roscoe Carpenter, a prominent Indiana Klansman. The Bible Crusaders are heavily financed by George F. Washburn, a "quiet God-fearing business man" of Boston. They contemplate a home in Florida for those "who grow old in the war against evolution." Back of this society are also the protagonists of the Bryan Memorial University in Tennessee. The Crusaders sent T. T. Martin to Mississippi to lobby for the evolution bill and, though he was roundly denounced for his illegal activities by Representative Windham, the bill (adversely reported in committee) passed both houses by a heavy majority.

From these symptoms, to which every week adds new manifestations, it may be observed how deep-seated is this dogmatic obscurantism. The avowed purpose is to establish a fundamentalist theocracy in America. As Maynard Shipley, president of the Science League of America, has said: "The fight is just beginning."

## Wild Game

By DONALD DAVIDSON

Whether it is only a thought  
Or some wild thing, harried severely,  
It is trapped for but never caught  
And visits us rarely.

In the likeness of a Deer  
Perhaps, or sometimes a wild  
Wolf that will slaver fear,  
Or a Dove; never beguiled

To drink or touch or taste  
Our flat and homely waters,  
Obeying no charm or the chaste  
Prayers of our virgin daughters.

But is seen of certain men  
Alone, who walk with dead eyes  
Glazed to all else but it,  
And are long afterwards called wise.

# Mr. Coolidge "Finds Himself" Again

By FRANK R. KENT

*Washington, D. C., May 22*

EVERY now and then one of the Republican organs prints a dispatch from Washington about the change in Mr. Coolidge. The general purport of these articles is that the President has now "found himself"—that is the favorite phrase—and from now on proposes to exert a leadership in legislative matters which he was unable to do before because he had not yet got "firmly on his feet."

Ever since Mr. Coolidge became President these explanatory statements about finding himself have appeared at intervals in the Administration mouthpieces. At the close of the last session they were obviously offered as an alibi for the extraordinary futility with which it was marked and as explaining the undeniable fact that a Republican Congress did everything a Republican President did not want and nothing he did want. Last December, when this Congress convened, they again appeared and were unquestionably indicative of a forced optimism on the part of his friends and supporters.

Now, nearly six months later, with the session about to expire and neither Republican House nor Republican Senate paying the least attention to Mr. Coolidge's wishes, the good old line about Mr. Coolidge "finding himself" is beginning again to appear, with the renewed prediction that "next session he will take hold of the helm with a strong hand." But there isn't the same ring to it. The declaration lacks conviction. Discouragement is apparent. Only a few of the propagandists send it out and those with plainly diminished faith. As a matter of fact, if there is anyone in Washington who now believes Mr. Coolidge will "find himself" as a party leader he believes it either in spite of his intelligence or because he is utterly devoid of that quality.

The truth is no one not hopelessly muddle-headed does believe that now. There is not a single Republican Senator, eliminating Butler and Gillett, who are too close to Coolidge to be sincere on the subject even with themselves, and Pepper, whose desperate fight in Pennsylvania compelled him to anoint Mr. Coolidge so thickly in public that he was forced to keep it up even when alone with himself—with these exceptions there isn't a single Republican Senator who does not know in his soul that this is the feeblest President in their time; that there is less force, less fight, less fire, less firmness about this President than any in a generation; that he takes a stand only when it seems absolutely safe and only for the most obvious proposals; that he is a pussyfooting product of the Massachusetts party escalator, who acts affirmatively only when he is pushed, is incapable of meeting a crisis without a guiding hand behind him, and from whom it is a joke to expect leadership either now or hereafter.

That is what they really think about him, and there isn't a well-posted man in Washington who doesn't know it and who, if he is free to tell the truth, won't say so. The thing that amazes them most is the length of time it is taking the people to get the real measure of the man. There are various explanations of this. One is propaganda, another prosperity, another the glamor that surrounds the office,

another an overwhelmingly favorable press, another the solid support of the great business and banking interests, whose ideal President is no President and who have in Mr. Coolidge the nearest thing to their ideal they can expect. So long as that line-up holds, the occasional statement that Mr. Coolidge is about to "find himself" will be sufficient explanation to the general public of his futility as a leader.

Actually, they do not even require that. All he has to do is sit still and let the cloudiness of the public mind operate to his advantage. And that is exactly what he does. Moreover, with the kind of newspaper support he has he can get away with that or almost anything else. Nobody checks up these days, and after this session ends, the White House spokesman will give out a solemn pronouncement praising Congress for its record, commending it for its constructive achievements, lauding it for the way in which it has held down expenses. The Washington correspondents, in duty bound and true to form, will send these laudatory comments all over the country. The great bulk of the newspapers will give Mr. Coolidge credit for having guided Congress away from injurious legislation and by his strength and wisdom induced it to pass the tax bill, adhere to the World Court, and ratify the foreign-debt settlements—which is unquestionably the bunk.

But all the business Babbitts will believe it. Moreover, they won't believe anything else. The more you consider the steadfastness of their attitude in the face of the facts the more you grasp the complete futility of arguing with men with a set political conviction. Facts mean nothing to such men—even those who are really intelligent. The record of this Congress, good or bad, is not Mr. Coolidge's record. He has had amazingly little to do with it. His influence one way or another has not been decisive. No President ever counted for less in Congress or had a smaller personal following in the Senate. These statements are the simple truth, fully recognized by leaders of his own party, not disputed by any clear-headed, candid, detached observer, and susceptible of complete proof by the record. The curious thing is, you do not have to prove them in Washington and you can't prove them outside. The further away you are, the easier it is to swallow the propaganda; the closer and more constant the touch, the greater the disillusionment.

As to the World Court, the tax-reduction bill, and the foreign-debt settlements it is true that they were Administration measures. Mr. Coolidge was for them and is entitled to credit. It is not, however, fair to ignore—as is being ignored—the fact that the World Court fight was made by Democrats, won by Democratic votes, and that the Presidential support was notoriously perfunctory, not even strong enough to hold in line the two Indiana Administration Senators—Watson and Robinson. Nor ought it to be forgot that the passage of the tax-reduction bill and the debt ratifications were inevitable. The overwhelming weight of the financial and newspaper forces behind them practically flattened out opposition. They could not have been stopped. Still Mr. Coolidge advocated these things in

his message and is entitled to some of the credit for their passage—even if he did little shoving to get them through. This is likewise true of the defeat by the House of the Haugen Farm Relief bill, which is also being hailed as an Administration victory, even though its ultimate effect may be anything but helpful to Mr. Coolidge and the Republican Party.

The reason for the latest effort to impress the thought that the President, having now “found himself,” will really take hold “next time” is the realization in White House quarters that the great bulk of the Coolidge recommendations made at the beginning of this session have utterly failed to materialize. Not only that, but in a couple of important instances Congress has done the very things he urged it not to do. Mr. Coolidge urged that radio control be left with the Department of Commerce, whereupon the Senate promptly reported a bill taking it out of Hoover’s hands and creating an independent commission—and this bill will pass. And Congress also, in the face of the White House spokesman’s opposition and warning, and immediately following an economy plea, passed the \$19,000,000 Spanish War pension bill, which he sourly signed.

It was recently computed that of twenty-three major recommendations of Mr. Coolidge for this session three had been favorably acted upon and twenty ignored. Probably the most striking and important piece of legislation of the whole session—the Railway Labor bill—went through by an overwhelming majority not only without the help of Mr. Coolidge but after he had taken pains—through the White House spokesman—to announce that it was not an Administration measure, although it is known he privately approved it. In addition, the effort of the silver producers to snatch \$5,000,000 more from the Treasury over the protest of Mr. Mellon was thwarted, not by Administration pressure, but by the determined opposition of Senator Carter Glass and other Democrats.

It requires considerable strain to ascribe leadership to a President with such a record as that in a Congress dominated in both branches by his own party. However, the White House now conveys to the correspondents, and the correspondents convey to the waiting world, the information that “the President appears very well satisfied with what has been accomplished”; that he has now “found himself” and in the next session will exert a stronger legislative leadership than before. It is a humbug world.

## Youth Attacks the “Color Line”

By WILLIAM PICKENS

TO profess unconventional opinions or to act contrary to tradition “along the color line” in America requires more than ordinary courage. The growing attitude, therefore, of the liberal section of younger Americans, the type out of whom “youth movements” are made, is significant. In at least two of the largest universities they have effected recent organizations whose names and creeds and activities constitute a direct assault upon the traditions of the color line. These are the Negro-Caucasian Club of the University of Michigan and the Interracial Discussion Group of Chicago University.

“The aim of the Negro-Caucasian Club is to make a careful study of the problems arising in relations between the races, to take such action as will encourage a spirit of sympathy and friendship, and to work for the eventual elimination of any discrimination against Negroes which may exist.” That is the first proposition of the Articles of Agreement of the Michigan University group, which, as its name implies, consists of white and colored members of the university, mostly students, but with several members of the faculty acting with them. The Chicago group, which exists not only for “discussion” but for social purposes as well, is made up chiefly of these two races with some representatives of other races. A white member writes:

We do not intend to make any compromises. We cannot presume to wipe out prejudice in so short a time, but we do intend to stand up for the rights of every student on the campus. If any injustice can be shown, then it is aired fully in the meetings. That is usually enough to stop it, unless it is something the institution does\*, like the

women’s dormitories. Of course, we have no power there, except to object to the policy.

This group of students does not agree with the limitations and restrictions against the right of the students of any race to occupy dormitory rooms. An unwritten rule of these clubs is that the chief offices shall include both races. Of the Michigan club the president is a white instructor, the vice-president a colored male student, the secretary a colored girl student, and the treasurer a white girl student.

Many instances, which have not reached the stage of organization, could be cited to show that college students are beginning not only to think but also to act for themselves on the question of race and color. It seems to be understood that the northward migration of Negroes and the consequent increase of Negro students in the colleges have aroused added opposition to Negro students on the part of those who are prejudiced. But few seem to realize that this very opposition has awakened a counter-activity on the part of those students who are free from such prejudices.

For the first time in history the white students who are conscientiously opposed to race prejudice have begun to organize against it. Heretofore such students have acted only as individuals; when their Negro or Oriental fellow-students were under fire they would by individual acts of liberality show that they were without prejudice and that they disapproved of the effort to curtail the institutional rights of other races. But the growing activity of race prejudice or the increasing disposition of modern youth to independence, or both, are now causing such white students to seek out colored students of like mind and courage and to form with them organizations which openly and unequivocally challenge discrimination against race.

\* This reference to women’s dormitories is based on the fact that former President Judson issued a decree that colored women students should not be received in the women’s dormitories, although colored male students have rooms in the men’s dormitories. So far as we know, while President Mason has said nothing so far to confirm this ruling, it has not been revoked.

These are seeking to encourage similar organizations in other colleges and are looking toward a national league.

It is significant that in these movements students and younger teachers take the initiative. They are more liberal than the older members of the faculties. The Chicago group decided that formal creeds and written principles would not suffice; they not only have "open forums" of discussion on all phases of race relations, sometimes with prominent white and colored speakers to lead the opposing sides, but they make it a rule to hold in each quarter of the year a great Interracial Dinner at one of the best hotels, where colored people ordinarily appear only in the role of servants. More frequently, and with the same motives, they go in "mixed parties" to the best restaurants and theaters. At the larger dinners they have some prominent outside person as speaker and guest of honor; but at the smaller affairs they practice informal association and the cultivation of personal acquaintanceship and good-will. One of the more formal dinners, with white and colored students of the university in about equal numbers, was recently held in the Gladstone Hotel in a dining-room off the main lobby, with a black man as speaker and Miss Mary McDowell as another guest. A white student writes that it is "always very interesting, particularly the way we are received and treated at the hotels. . . . There has been considerable 'social equality.' . . . So far no one has been killed and we have never been refused service although we have had to wait sometimes!"

In 1925 an unusual number of colleges invited colored persons to discuss the American race question before the students and to hold forums on the subject, the invitations always being issued or influenced by the student organizations. Some of these colleges had never before had a colored speaker, like the University of Maryland; others were traditionally opposed to interracial liberality, like Washington University in St. Louis. The liberal-minded students of George Washington University, Washington, D. C., sent an invitation to a colored speaker. A New England college where only twelve colored students among 500 whites caused to grow up such a crop of "problems" that serious trouble had been threatened invited a colored man of some experience in education to hold eleven lectures and round tables with students and members of the faculty. It was openly admitted that this was offered as an antidote to developing race prejudice in the school, and the black man was given the chapel hour each day and full charge of classes in biology, sociology, history, imperialism, anthropology, etc. They discussed the biological aspects of race problems, the color line in industry, the history of slavery and the slave trade, the imperialism of Europe in Africa, the Mendelian laws of heredity, and the differences in interbreeding between species of plants and varieties of men. It was later reported that the attitudes of both students and faculty had been changed by this experience and that the twelve Negro students would be continued with all privileges and rights in the college, although the local Ku Klux Klan had previously issued an order that the Negro students must be excluded from college social functions. The goodly number of Southern white students had supported the position of the Klan, but on a vote an overwhelming majority of the Student Association stood for the equal privileges of students, regardless of race. The majority attitude of the students was supported by the younger members of the faculty and by the more liberal older members.

The Chicago University group has been recognized by the institution, which gives them the advantage of using the bulletin boards and the college publications and auditoriums. A white girl in one of the upper classes of the university writes:

It is impossible to know how far our good work is carried out, but I know of several specific instances where its influence has accomplished something. If we do no more than sit in the same room together and talk and drink tea, we are doing something. We believe that the simplest contacts on an equality basis are bound to accomplish something. We are doing more than that.

The Michigan University group has applied for recognition, but the first draft of their Articles of Agreement excited the fear of the more cautious members of the administration. The first draft of this statement of aim constituted such a direct attack on race discrimination that it was considered "too belligerent and likely to arouse unnecessary opposition." Like good statesmen and diplomats the club proceeded to revise its articles of agreement by verbal changes and milder phrasing, but, as one of the officers says, "without material loss in meaning." For example, the first draft of the agreement, written by the club without outside influence or pressure, contained the following lines:

We agree to work conscientiously, actively, and persistently, both individually and as members of this organization, for the elimination of all forms of discrimination, injustice, and prejudice against Negroes, as distinguished from Caucasians.

We pledge ourselves to exert every effort to give, in all possible ways, substantial and effective help to this oppressed group, to aid and protect them not only in maintaining those rights to which they are entitled under the law either as citizens or aliens but also to work actively against any existing or proposed law and against any custom or individual practice involving pernicious race discrimination.

The club finally revised and boiled down the statement of its object into the single sentence beginning the second paragraph of this article.

This counter-crusade against race discrimination, led by college students, is the present most important development along the American color line. It is a part of the revolt of youth against unreasoning tradition. In a Long Island high school the white students insisted on electing a popular colored student as president of the whole student group, and the same thing has more recently occurred at the Stuyvesant high school in New York City. At White Plains, New York, the white students of the high school have elected a colored student to the highest honor group for all-round meritorious character and conduct. Recently at Princeton University students gathered from the colleges and universities of the land insisted, against the spectacular protests of some from more provincial surroundings, upon electing to the highest executive body of their new national organization a young Negro woman who represented one of the Negro universities. This sentiment for fair play has always existed in student groups, but it has been dormant and unorganized. With the challenge of increasing activity on the part of race prejudice, this dormant liberal sentiment and fundamental good sportsmanship is asserting itself and even organizing for defense and attack. That has significance for the future.

## In the Driftway

SOMETHING is always bobbing up to remind one that men often know least about that with which they have been longest familiar. Whales, for instance. Men have been familiar with them as long as they have sailed ships; they have fought them, caught them, used them for their daily needs. Yet known little of them—next to nothing of their habits, their diet, their migrations, their length of life, their breeding, and their birth-rate. A modern steam whaling-ship docked in New York harbor a few weeks ago and set the Drifter babbling to a friend about whales. The Drifter was making a tremendous impression, he thought, when his friend suddenly asked if it were true that there were fewer whales now than once, or whether they had merely been driven into more remote parts of the world. And the Drifter didn't know, nor does anybody else.

\* \* \* \* \*

BUT this is a scientific age, and we are in a way to learn about whales as well as bacilli. For whaling is not, as some suppose, a dead industry. It has passed out of the life of New England, but it is still carried on in the Antarctic, mostly by Norwegians using British land as a base of operations. Great Britain enjoys an excellent revenue from license fees, and wishes, therefore, to save the whale from extermination, if there is any such danger. A party of British scientists are now in the Antarctic on Captain Scott's old ship, the *Discovery*, and they are shortly to be joined by another group on the *Scoresby*. The scientists aboard the *Scoresby* propose to circulate a questionnaire in whaledom. The method will be to fire a small dart, bearing an identification disk giving time and place, into every whale that comes within reach. Fishermen capturing such whales will be asked to return the disks.

\* \* \* \* \*

WHALERS say that there is still a vast number of whales in the Antarctic, but some of the kinds most prized by our New England fishermen undoubtedly have been all but exterminated. The sperm whale, for instance—the most valuable of all for oil—which lives in tropical waters, is now exceedingly rare, while the Greenland right whale, once much esteemed for whalebone, has either been largely killed off or driven into the ice floes near the North Pole, safe until Amundsen goes after it in a whaling dirigible. Then, perhaps, we shall hear again, roared out from the air above those wintry wastes, the old stanzas of "There She Blows!"

Gallied and sore, fins and flukes in commotion,  
Blackskin and boats are cleaving the spray,  
While long, loud, and shrill winds his pipe o'er the ocean,  
Frightened, bewildered, he brings to in dismay.

The power of man o'er the king of the ocean  
Is shown by the end when we gain our desire;  
For a lance in his life creates a commotion,  
Slowly he sinks with his chimney on fire.

\* \* \* \* \*

AND now, in closing this little homily on whales, the Drifter asks a rising vote of thanks for not once using the word "leviathan."

THE DRIFTER

## Correspondence

### When Gentlemen Agree

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: That the British strikers were doomed became obvious upon the announcement that the settlement was a "gentlemen's agreement" with the Tories. "Gentlemen's agreements" with workers are never kept by privileged interests. From the days of Wat Tyler, and probably before, this has proved invariably to be the case. In our own times this proved true when Tom L. Johnson put faith in an agreement with the Cleveland street-railway interests only to have them treacherously stir up corrupt labor leaders into calling a causeless strike against him. Lincoln Steffens learned this truth when he brought about a "gentlemen's agreement" between Los Angeles Tories and the MacNamara defense under which the MacNamaras were to plead guilty and all prosecutions of others charged with connection with blowing up the *Times* building were to cease. The MacNamaras pleaded guilty, but the other prosecutions did not cease. During the war the Typographical Union put faith in an agreement with the Typothetae for a 44-hour week to go into effect later. In 1921 when a depression put power into the employing printers' hands the agreement was repudiated. The Typothetae is not to be classed as a privileged interest, but it has nevertheless displayed the Tory spirit. One large Baltimore employing printer remarked to the writer at the time: "Sure we promised them a 44-hour week. We would have promised them the White House at that time had they asked it."

Tory treachery in the British case became clear immediately upon the calling off of the strike when the *British Gazette* shamelessly announced Unconditional Surrender. It was only the happening of what should have been expected.

Baltimore, May 15

SAMUEL DANZIGER

## Should Wives Have Wages?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter of the Russian woman in your issue of April 14 tempts me to join in this interesting controversy; because I agree with the Russians about the freedom of love, but disagree with their treatment of children as a mere by-product of women's activity. When a man and woman live together, without children, both earning, it is usually the woman who keeps clothes and home clean, and does any necessary cooking. Either this work must be shared by both as mutual service, or, if treated as a necessary duty, the one who does it is entitled to a wage from the state. I am prepared to bet that in Russia, as in every country in the world, men's time and energy are saved by having the constant services of a wife or mother who is herself also earning. If the Russian women render all this for love, in addition to their labor as duty to the state, they are not much in advance of a certain young bride who wrote lately in your columns [issue of February 24]; indeed they have merely added a second taskmaster—the state—to the old taskmaster—the husband. I deplore doing everything for money, but the services that a common life brings must be given by men as well as women.

When it comes to having children a woman takes on yet another burden. She is then doing three jobs to the man's one. The cotton areas in England are eloquent of the terrible results of this to women and the race. That is capitalism, a Russian would say. I say it is the setting up of a mechanical state as a fetish in defiance of biological needs. I would not forbid any woman to work on account of marriage or maternity, but I think the state should pay handsomely any healthy woman who is willing to treat her own body in pregnancy

and her children's bodies with half the care or respect accorded to office files, typewriters, or factory machinery; to look upon maternity as a creative work like painting or poetry or sculpture. Such women might also do work in schools and creches. But at present it seems to me that in no country is enough attention paid to the fate of mother or baby before birth takes place and from then until the child is five years old. So long as there are no really substantial wages and training for mothers at this early period, so long will maternity be despised and the child regarded as an awkward by-product impairing the efficiency of its wage-earning mother—and, it may be, her freedom to seek another mate.

DORA RUSSELL

*Porthcarne, Penzance, England, April 24*

## When the Clergy Keep Silent

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the interest of accurate thinking and enlightening speech—never so much needed as now—I wish to take exception to one sentence in the otherwise valuable article by Mr. Villard in the issue of May 5: A Strike and an American. The writer—doubtless without carefully weighing his words—says, in substance, that “it seems almost incredible that clergymen could sit by and see men, women, and children beaten up by the police without leaping to succor the victims of a gigantic conspiracy of public officials and mill-owners to break a justifiable strike.”

Far be it from me to deny the existence of profound sympathy on the part of many clergymen, much less to suggest insincerity on any considerable scale in that profession. Many years' membership and activity in that profession forbids any such conclusion. But I submit that to any person possessing a comprehensive knowledge of history, ancient and modern, or any acquaintance with the basic teachings of the Christian religion, whether in pulpits, in creeds, or in the seminaries in which most clergymen are “fitted” for their life-work, the incredible thing would be that any considerable number of clergymen should take any steps—much less “leap”—toward personal or collective defense of striking workers.

In the very nature of things, the basic problems of the world's working class today are as truly a closed book, a *terra incognita*, to practically the whole body of Christian clergymen as was the problem of the enslaved peasants of ancient Egypt to the priests of its now dead religion. Not only should it be remembered that the supreme problem of Christian theology—the foundation of the Christian church—is concerned with the fate of the so-called individual “soul” in a supposed “future life,” with the problem of “sin” and “salvation” as defined by the cosmology and theodicy of an age of universal ignorance, but that the material support of the clergy comes from, and the bulk of their personal association is with, that social class which depends for its existence on the exploitation of labor.

It seems to me not merely doubtful, but—more than that—unthinkable that the clergy as a class ever will or can contribute anything vital to the solution of this basic problem of human society: how wealth shall be most wisely produced and distributed. There is nothing in the clergyman's own experience or in his training to make him a factor in that solution.

*Menlo Park, Cal., May 9*

WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My dear unsophisticated Mr. Villard, what did you expect the clergy to do?

By a strange coincidence, in a worth-while article in the current *Atlantic Monthly*, I find a quotation from Charles Bul-ler: “Do not destroy the Established Church. It is the only thing which stands between us and Christianity.”

*Cincinnati, Ohio, May 3*

GEO. B. TWITCHELL

## How to Pay Farm Debts

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Italian debt to the United States, incurred by reason of the World War, is \$2,042,000,000. I, as a farmer, also incurred a debt during the war, which is \$2,042, just one-millionth of the Italian debt to the United States, and my note is held by the Federal Reserve Bank.

Now, the Italian settlement established a precedent which I am sure the Federal Reserve banks will be only too willing to follow, and I shall immediately make a settlement with the bank's representative on that basis.

On the basis of the Italian settlement I shall pay to the bank the sum of \$5 per year up to and including the year 1930. In the year 1931 I will pay the sum of \$12.10; in 1932, \$12.20; and so on, gradually increasing until in the year 1987 I will make the last payment of \$79.40, which will extinguish the debt.

I feel a deep remorse for the criticisms I have made of the Republican Party and the Coolidge Administration for their apathy toward agriculture. The Italian debt settlement will be the greatest thing for the poor debt-ridden farmer that has ever happened.

*Musselshell, Mont., April 3*

LEVERNE HAMILTON

## Those Military Instructors

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A correspondent in your issue of April 21 intimates that the presence of the professor of military science and of several officer-instructors and the remark of one of the sergeants tended to intimidate the students who came to a meeting at the City College of New York to discuss military training.

Please permit me, as chairman of the meeting, to say that the gentlemen of the military-science department came to the meeting at the express invitation of the students. At the meeting were present several members of other departments of the college. There was no suggestion of intimidation by the members of the military-science department. The students not only spoke as freely and as critically as they wished, but actually called viva voce for some remarks by the professor of military science. Not only at this meeting but throughout the controversy on compulsory military training, now several months old, the attitude of the members of the military-science department has been most courteous and most considerate.

*New York, April 26*

AARON TRAISTER

## The Awful Dreiser

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: “Isn't he awful, though? How do you expect us to keep the works of this author of ‘Genius’ in our library and thus help in corrupting the minds of the young people?” was the reply I received from a big city librarian to my query as to why there was not a single novel written by Dreiser on their shelves. When I asked this lady if she had read any of his other works she betrayed her utter ignorance about his ever having written anything else. But she added with a touch of pride: “We have three volumes of Babbitt.” My subsequent inquiries revealed that even such a big library as that at Washington, D. C., did not have a copy of “Sister Carrie” or “Jennie Gerhardt.”

I had another disappointing surprise at one of the big State universities. When I asked for Dreiser's “The Hand of the Potter,” I, a graduate student of 30, was told that the book is never issued out unless a special permit is brought from the instructor who has assigned that book for reading.

*Beacon, New York, May 14*

V. V. OAK

# Books, Music, Plays

## The Pale Woman

By SARA BARD FIELD

*Woman, why so pale and thin?*

A swan and a raven strive within.

From battling of beak am I wan and worn;  
From grappling of white with black wing torn.

*Woman, I hear no clash of wing.*

In awful silence is done this thing.

They droop on my breast when weary of fight—  
Swan on the left; raven on the right.

The left breast burns like a fiery cross;  
The right breast blights like frozen moss.

If the white the black heart slay,  
I shall be a nest for day.

But if the swan should vanquished be,  
The raven with night will feather me.

Daily I rise and lay me down.  
I comb my hair and smooth my gown,  
And, basket on arm, go into town.

The neighbors see nothing strange or new:  
A woman marketing, as they do—  
Butter and eggs and a fish or two.

For who would dream my narrow clay  
Could hold the clash of night and day?

Or that the birds of boundless space  
Would strive in such a little place?

## The Writings and Paintings of William Blake

*The Writings of William Blake.* Edited by Geoffrey Keynes.

Three volumes. London: The Nonesuch Press. £5, 17/6.

*The Paintings of William Blake.* By Darrell Figgis. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$35.

BLAKE has reached his apotheosis, or at least such semblance of apotheosis as may come to the fragmentary remains of his immortal spirit which linger in this world of sense and space and time. The long series of studies and commentaries upon his work as poet and artist with which the present century has honored itself comes to a culmination in the splendid edition of his writings in prose and verse which Mr. Keynes has edited and in the superb quarto volume, containing one hundred colotype and color reproductions of his paintings, selected and introduced by the late Mr. Darrell Figgis. The appearance of these two magnificent tributes to his genius might be made the occasion for yet another essay on Blake, for his art is of that quality which, whether it attracts or repels, speaks with a distinct and individual voice to every reader and observer. The temptation to "expatiate free" upon the verbal and linear evocations of the spiritual world wherein Blake dwelt must, however, be resisted. It is more to the point—especially since these two works have been issued in limited and necessarily quite costly editions—to offer an epitome or brief report upon what Mr. Keynes and Mr. Figgis have accomplished.

The Nonesuch edition is perhaps not final; for at any mo-

ment one of the "lost" works may turn up just as of late hitherto unknown designs have been recovered; and some future editor, working upon the text which Mr. Keynes has meticulously set forth, may convincingly establish the order in which certain pages of the Prophetic Books are to be arranged. But it is as near an approach to finality as this generation is likely to possess. The early Blakists of the Pre-Raphaelite *cenacle* took amazing liberties with his texts, correcting what seemed to them blunders, transposing sections of the longer poems, and even omitting some things that were incomprehensible to them. The year 1905, when Mr. Sampson edited the lyrical poems for the Oxford Press, marked the close of this pre-scholarly partially ignorant and partially condescending admiration. Since then some of the longer poems have been edited with scrupulous fidelity, though others (notably "Vala") have still been known only in texts of doubtful authority. In Mr. Keynes's edition the pendulum has swung to the extreme of minute accuracy. Two problems confronted him at the outset of his undertakings: the order in which the writings should be printed and the method of recording *variae lectiones*. The solutions reached give to the edition an unquestionable authority which the scholar will appreciate, while the amateur will find his pleasure in the great beauty of its form.

Earlier editors have had ample opportunity to confound confusion by proffering each his own solution of the problem of arrangement. Mr. Keynes rightly holds that the important thing is to follow the development of Blake's ideas and that the only way in which to do so is to read all that he wrote in the sequence in which he wrote. The chronological arrangement is as strict and remorseless as can be arrived at on the basis of the available evidence. Lyrics, epigrams, squibs, notes, marginal jottings, letters, and prophetic books follow one another in what at first seems most admired disorder. The justification of this arrangement is a pragmatic one, for when in the course of several months one has reread all of Blake in this edition his genius does certainly shine forth in yet greater clarity. It is interesting to contrast Mr. Figgis's method of arranging his century of superb illustrations. He was of the opinion that not only was an arrangement by sequence of date very difficult to determine but that to adopt such an order was "to run to pedantry for refuge." "The order of a man's life is not the order in which his days are lived but the order which his mind gives to those days." Mr. Figgis has therefore attempted to establish the order which Blake himself would have chosen. The plates appear in groups according to theme and treatment and mood. The result, since Mr. Figgis has made a selection from, and has not set forth the entire corpus of, Blake's paintings, is more successful than might have been expected.

We return to Mr. Keynes and to his second problem: the record of *variae lectiones*. In the case of other poems the editor knows what the poet has himself rejected; it is an easy matter to relegate variants to foot-notes. But Blake often gives no indication that his own decision is reached; there are often erasures within erasures and sometimes it is impossible to determine whether the poet, had he brought the work in question to a conclusion, would have suffered all or any of some pages to stand. Mr. Keynes in the circumstances has rightly undertaken to reproduce the original texts *verbatim et literatim*. The result makes often for hard reading, but only the ignorant will raise the cry of pedantry, for it sheds a flood of light upon Blake's mental processes. For the rest Mr. Keynes offers little that is new, and most of his novelties were already accessible in his privately printed Blake "Bibliography" of 1921. The chief novelties are some fifty-six introductory lines to "The Everlasting Gospel," some letters, and some marginalia. The editor's reconstruction of the text of the longer Prophetic Books, especially "Milton" and "Vala," is so thoroughgoing as to rank as a new achievement. His commentary is limited to concise

statements of facts of bibliographical importance; he makes no attempt to offer a new interpretation of Blake's philosophy and symbols.

The thought of the reader of Mr. Figgis's sympathetic and at times eloquent introduction is clouded by the remembrance that before he could see his work accomplished the critic went to self-sought death. In the light of this event some of his comments and interpretations, more especially with regard to Blake's sad withdrawn years after the exhibition of 1809, take on a peculiarly somber hue. The beautiful plates must be examined in relation to Mr. Figgis's text; the justification for their selection and arrangement will then become apparent.

SAMUEL C. CHEW

## More Barren Leaves

*Two or Three Graces.* By Aldous Huxley. George H. Doran Company. \$2.50.

MR. ALDOUS HUXLEY, probably the most intelligent of *les fauves*, exhibits alternately the two moods, the disdainful and the explosive, of his mind. In the first he is an aloof satirist regarding human follies with an air of great detachment and describing them in a style of limpid simplicity; in the second the mask drops from his face and reveals the pain which lies behind it. Tolerant contempt gives way to ferocious hatred, classic irony to raging disgust, and the author descends from his Olympian height to struggle desperately with the problems which he had mocked others for not solving.

This second mood, definitely foreshadowed in the satiric poems which formed the bulk of the volume called "Leda," received its fullest expression in that hideous masterpiece "Antic Hay." An obscene farce at the heart of which lay an utter despair, it seemed to reach the uttermost possible limits of hatred for a world in which nothing could be believed and nothing, not even debauchery, could be enjoyed. Beyond it lay nothing except the desperate conversion of a Huysmans, and perhaps for that reason Huxley has never since let himself go completely. In "Those Barren Leaves" as well as in the present volume there are occasional glimpses of the black abyss from which "Antic Hay" was born, but the mask is resumed and confession is checked. The author, turning his eye upon this character or that situation, regards it with an aloof ironical gaze and pretends to have found his own fixed point of peace—though he never reveals to us just where it is—in the midst of the flux which he describes.

The world with which he deals is essentially a world where there are no faiths but only an infinitude of poses. Biology, anthropology, psychoanalysis, and the rest have made it impossible for anybody to be sure of anything. There are people who pretend to believe in art, in science, or even in morality, but at bottom they know that they have only taken up attitudes and they are so used to pretending at faiths and passions that they do not themselves know when they come closest to sincerity. Painters talk glibly of forms, physiologists of glands, and philosophers of complexes, but none of them know where they are or have continued very much to care. At their best they manage, like the painter Rodney in the present volume, to obtain a success by some simple device; his consists of painting provocative green nudes in a distorted setting. At their worst they merely stand, like one of the minor characters, in the midst of a drunken party and bawl: "We're absolutely modern, we are. Anybody can have my wife so far as I'm concerned. I don't care. She's free. And I'm free. That's what I call modern." Between them there is not much to choose and they meet on a common ground. One and all they drink and couple, the only real difference being the extent to which they can dramatize their monotonous experiences.

Such is the milieu of the story *Two or Three Graces*, which gives its title to the present volume and which constitutes more than two-thirds of its bulk. Its central character is a pleasant, simple, and rather stupid woman who is drawn into the chaos which she understands rather less than those who make it. Somewhat after the manner of Chekhov's "Darling" she assumes in desperate earnest the tastes and the poses of her lovers. While she lives with the painter she talks of "drinking lifelike champagne" and of "the duty of obeying one's whims"; when she becomes the mistress of the neo-Nietzschean philosopher she tries her best to be the vampire "possessed by a devil of concupiscence" which it pleases him to pretend that she is; but all the time she cannot help taking the poses more seriously than those do from whom they are imitated. While they pretend to suffer she really does, and we leave her desperate at the end of one of her affairs, yet inevitably destined to do an eternal *da capo*.

It is a grotesquely tragic story, one which might, indeed, have been woven in as one of the many threads of "Antic Hay," but it differs in that it is written with an air of ironical detachment which conceals the desperate disgust the former book set out clearly to reveal. In it Mr. Huxley no longer shrieks. He pretends almost to be writing again in the mood of mere satiric extravaganza which marked "Chrome Yellow" and which caused him to be compared to Peacock. His clear self-possessed sentences are polite and calm, his analyses minute and unexcited. And yet for all the careful impersonality of manner it is the essential seriousness of his mind, his real concern with the world and its ways, which gives to him his strength. He is at heart no aesthete and no mere Olympian satirist. As surely as the most solemn of moral philosophers he is in search of the good life, and it is the bitterness of his disappointment in not having found it that sets his work so far above that of our merely precious sophisticates. Essentially too serious of mind to be content with the cleverness which is so abundantly his, and possessed of a mind too powerfully critical to fall a victim to any sham philosophy, he has wandered unhappily through a life which has so far revealed to him nothing in which he could believe; and if he has described nothing but folly his descriptions have been significant for the very reason that he would so infinitely have preferred any wisdom that he had been able to find.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## A Cold Plunge

*History and Social Intelligence.* By Harry Elmer Barnes. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.

THIS is not a pleasant book to read. Mr. Barnes has not mastered the art of polite qualification; he is innocent of philosophic detachment; he lacks the restraint of academic dignity. From the beginning to the end of the book he thrusts and parries as if he were in deadly earnest. And there is no button at the end of his rapier. He seems intent indeed upon running the point of it to the quivering heart of the dearest American illusions. To one unaccustomed to the sight of blood, familiar rather with the usual exhibition bouts, the contestants protected by masks, gloves, pads, and blunted foils, Mr. Barnes's realism is difficult to distinguish from brutality. Worst of all, this rude barbarian is not impressed by reputations; he jabs at the vitals of the distinguished with cold-blooded steadiness. When the affair is over, the list of casualties is a long one.

The conclusion must not be drawn from this that the book is merely an adventure in controversy. The nineteen chapters bulge with historical facts, often of a kind little known but indispensable, and the discussion is rich with what, in an untechnical sense, may be called philosophical reflections. If even the sympathetic reader may at times regret a tone of overcertainty in the appraisal of men and events, or occasion-

ally deplore a flavor of smartness as, for example, when the author says: "Socrates seems to have been the first to make the search for truth the main business of a lifetime, perhaps because he had fallen down badly in all the other pursuits he had cultivated," he will recognize these and other objectionable features as defects of good qualities. The erudition of the writer is obvious; as obvious as the trenchancy, forthrightness, and clearness of his style. Nor is his criticism solely negative. The historians mentioned with wholehearted approval throughout the volume, as illustrating the new historical purpose and method, make a considerable number of well-recognized names. And a reader of insight will easily discover, back of the biting phraseology, back of the unscientific glee in robbing the revered of haloes, an admirable social intention, an honest search for fact, and a courageous disregard not only of "the approving eulogy of the herd" but of the uncritical disapprobation of professional colleagues.

The book, as the author suggests, is "put together." It contains articles reprinted from periodicals, a dozen or more extended book reviews, and chapters now printed for the first time. A certain lack of coherence is therefore inevitable. But the various studies are unified by the author's aim in each of them. This is to enlist history in the cause of promoting social intelligence. The method is indicated in these words: "Probably the greatest service which history can render mankind . . . is to aid us in gradually weakening that solemn and unreasoning reverence toward the cultures and institutions of the past which is the chief cause of that contemporary lack of competence and insight everywhere in evidence in man's seeming inability to cope with the issues which confront him." If this outrages the prevailing type of nationalism and patriotism, which Mr. Barnes regards as "sentiments no less barbarous and uncivilized than racial egotism and arrogance," he has hopes that it may do something to further patriotism defined as "the sense of civic obligation," which he frankly admits to be "one of the highest and noblest of human emotions."

Obviously Americans whose minds are fixed in the orthodox pattern will find the book an abomination. One may hope, however, that the more critical, especially young men and women in colleges, will somehow find their way to this fresh, stimulating discussion of some of the most complex problems which face us as a people. And if they do, the chapters devoted to the analysis of our peculiar form of government—Some Aspects of the History of Democracy, The Political Party in Democracy, The Cost of Democracy, Social Science and the Future of Democracy—will do much to further the clarification of their thought. The two chapters on Woodrow Wilson will offend many readers, as will the consideration of responsibility for the recent war. Others will balk (to some extent justly) at the author's treatment of our national heroes in *The Fathers at Work, Worship, and Play*, but some such purification of our political tradition is badly needed. Thousands of Americans of all classes would strenuously object to the brilliant but sharp analysis of the "Coolidge Myth," which the author declares he himself would, for various personal reasons, have preferred to omit but was unable to omit because it is "undoubtedly the chief obstacle to social intelligence in the United States today." Yet in spite of all objections, honest readers will rejoice in the intellectual integrity conspicuously present throughout the book.

There are people who believe that the American mind needs the shock of a cold plunge. It would be economical, of course, if this could be provided imaginatively by a book, rather than actually by a social catastrophe. And if it is not vain to hope that it may be so induced, then here is such a book. Every page that is understood by him will make the hundred percenter's teeth chatter and bring gooseflesh to the patriotic sentimentalist.

M. C. OTTO

## An Introduction to Internationalism

*International Relations.* By Raymond Leslie Buell. Henry Holt and Company. \$5.

"THOSE of us who do not wish to see our whole civilization go down in red ruin have a great and difficult duty to perform—to guard the door of our minds against patriotism." With this one slashing sentence a British philosopher can cut through the tangled meshes of international relations. Substitute "imperialism" or "militarism" or "capitalism" or "pacifism," and Bertrand Russell's phrase becomes the credo of millions, for many of us who are not philosophers still feel the lure of an ultimate formula.

Not so Mr. Buell! With cool detachment he surveys these "isms" and a host beside. Yet of none does he say with Gambetta: "Voilà l'ennemi." Nor would he echo Russell's formula. He is interested, rather, in facts. Someone has sagely remarked that we must learn to overcome our stage-fright in the presence of facts. By making it possible for intelligent readers to acquaint themselves in one well-organized volume with the principal facts of international life Mr. Buell has performed no small service.

If the man in the moon, he begins, should turn his telescope upon the human world, what would he see? With almost lunar disinterestedness he then proceeds with an informing description of nationalism, of racialism, of pan-national movements, of imperialism and international exploitation, and of such agencies of peace as the League of Nations and the world courts. It is perhaps inevitable that in so comprehensive a survey he should occasionally slip into a superficial judgment, as he does respecting some aspects of nationalism. One may accept nationalism as a reality, and perhaps even subscribe to the qualified statement that "properly conceived, there is no finer sentiment in the world than patriotism," but it is difficult to accept on the authority of a mid-Victorian historian the astonishing generalization that in small states "the individual citizen is educated to a higher degree and his intelligence is likely to be greater than in a large commonwealth." It may be true that "until the economic is divorced from the political frontier, permanent peace will not become a reality"; but it is hardly the function of a political scientist to grant divorces or take them for granted. When the author puts cultural nationalism into one chapter and economic nationalism into another, virtually ignoring their vital and important connection, one feels that he has inconsiderately severed the Siamese twins.

In his chapters on various phases of imperialism Mr. Buell exposes the evils of colonial exploitation and with equal frankness contends that economic necessity makes imperialism "inevitable." His research on the mandate system is reflected in a belief that ruthless exploitation is "gradually giving away to the policy of trusteeship." This well-substantiated opinion leads him at times into an optimism that is overly genial, as in his remarks on Palestine, but it also guides him to an interesting constructive program for the improvement and extension of the mandate or trusteeship principle. On the wide range of international agreements and agencies for the preservation of peace the concluding chapters present a wealth of material which has not yet reached the average American reader.

If a treaty of 1866 is put eleven years earlier, doubtless by the printer's error, or if Spain is included in "the Napoleonic Empire," or if the description of the Soviet government needs retouching, or if Asiatic languages are omitted from a list of "the leading languages of the world," or if other minor defects may be found here and there, it would nevertheless be unfair to pile up pettifogging criticisms against a book that is remarkably accurate and well documented.

PARKER THOMAS MOON

## Origins and Etymologies

*Troy and Paeonia. With Glimpses of Ancient Balkan History and Religion.* By Grace Harriet Macurdy. Columbia University Press. \$3.75.

PROFESSOR MACURDY, like Gilbert Murray and Miss Jane Harrison among modern students of primitive belief and ritual, sees on every hand survivals of the worship of the reproductive and creative forces of nature and of the sources of growth or decay. Professor Macurdy maintains that Troy in its greatness was held by tribes from the basin of the Danube and that the contact of these vigorous invaders with the older Aegean civilization produced the high culture found in Homeric Troy. These Danubians brought with them the worship of a sun-god, Apollo, "not the sun, but an aspect of the sun in relation to vegetation and human and animal life." They brought also the worship of the rivers, a worship represented by Poseidon. "He is in origin the god of fresh-water streams and many of his aspects, which persist even after he has been carried to the ocean, reveal him as a god of vegetative life." "Poseidon is not a river but his form and cult developed from the worship of rivers by nomad tribes wandering in search for water."

The rulers of Troy were of the same stock as the leaders of historical Macedon and this is shown by the reappearance in Macedon of many of the names used in Troy—Alexander, for instance, and Cassandra. The Dardanians, allied with the Trojans, were famous for their close array in battle, and this close array, protected by long spears, was later developed by the kings of Macedon into their victorious phalanx. The Greeks and the Trojans were of essentially the same race, hence the practical identity of their proper names.

Most of this book is devoted to a discussion of etymologies and to the conclusions to be drawn from them. The arguments are based on the assumption that the names of mythology and of tradition carry in themselves the key to their origin, their meaning, and their history. These arguments are most intricate and are not to be transferred to a foreign tongue, yet they are largely devoted to the proof that the various attributes of the sun and the moon appear in countless personifications.

The sun is Helios, the god of light, and Hades, the god of darkness, is only another manifestation of the same divinity. So likewise is Paeon, the divine physician; Apollo is also an aspect of the sun, while even the name Hector is only the shortened form for Echelaos, which is another name for Hades. The famous story of Alkestis, who chose death for herself that her husband might be spared, is only another tale of the sun and moon. Calliope, the leader among the muses, is not so named, as has been supposed, because of her beautiful voice but for her beautiful face; hence Calliope is the full-faced moon. "Phoibe, Pasiphae, Hekate, Hekaerge, Aigle, Antiope, Agriope, Argiope, Koronis—these are some of the epithets of the moon that, connoting different aspects of her in either a physical or a psychological conception, developed into deities or heroines." This is only a start on the wide circle of heroines or goddesses under whom the moon goddess is hidden.

There is perhaps no realm in which the creative imagination has so unhampered a play as in the field of etymologies, for there you can largely make your own etymologies and draw your own conclusions. Whatever your theory you can always find an etymology to support it. For instance, those who have argued that the muses were spirits of the mountains supported this belief by the fact that the word for muse was originally the same as the word for mountain. But now Miss Macurdy, believing the muses are water spirits, derives the word muse from a word which suggests moisture.

This book shows great and accurate learning and wide reading; it will please those who put faith in such arguments. But the uninitiated will look with suspicion on any theory that rests

heavily on the etymology of proper names; or that sees in Hector another name for Hades, or that regards Calliope as a manifestation of the full-faced moon.

JOHN A. SCOTT

## From Ultima Thule

*The Connoisseur and other Stories.* By Walter de la Mare. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

ONLY one of these nine stories has a realistic basis. The others tell, with the author's finished persuasiveness, of further excursions into those haunted areas where the brain of man is all fringed and interrogatory, never central and declarative. Compared with such gossamer fancies, such fine-spun, uninsistent horrors, the sheeted ghosts of Poe seem prosaic and mechanical.

These are not really ghost stories, because there is nothing of cumulative incident in them. A perfect ghost story, such as *The Haunters* and *the Haunted*, is dependent on narrative and depicts amazing experiences that happen to ordinary men. The present tales shadow forth, unconstricted by plot, events not at all impossible which impinge on the consciousnesses of most extraordinary people. And yet it is not people that are summoned up in these pages but trembling, transient states of the soul, the most delicate madresses externalized in word and gesture; in a word, the elements of an obliquely apprehended non-human universe. The exact notation of character, at least in his short tales, is irrelevant to Mr. de la Mare's art; he tells his stories, like Conrad in "*Lord Jim*," through the medium of a narrator. He strains his insights through a double mesh of consciousness and suffuses the original outlines of his men and women in a shifting haze of retrospection.

His preoccupation with effects rather than ideas, his careful adumbration of details, his anxious prose style, his researches into an exclusive and limited dream world proclaim the decadent; but he is that astonishing phenomenon, a decadent without pose. It is to some genuine unstudied quirk in his own nature that these phantasmagoria correspond; they are real and not synthetic trophies that from Ultima Thule he has so quietly brought home.

CLIFTON P. FADIMAN

## Books in Brief

*The Letters of Anton Pavlovitch Tchekhov to Olga Leonardovna Knipper.* Translated from the Russian by Constance Garnett. George H. Doran Company. \$6.

Chekhov once wrote to a friend who was urging marriage upon him that he was quite willing to take a wife provided she, like the moon, did not appear in his sky every night. Three years before his death he found such an one in the actress, Olga Knipper. She fulfilled the condition better than he liked. Since, in his own words, the devil had put a bacillus in him and the love of art in her, they seldom saw each other, he being chained to the South and she to the two capitals. Absence begot correspondence. Hence this volume of letters, rendered into English by Mrs. Garnett with her usual felicity. These intimate messages abound in such humor and tenderness as serve to accentuate their essential pathos.

*Proteus or The Future of Intelligence.* By Vernon Lee. E. P. Dutton and Company. Today and Tomorrow Series. \$1.

A vivacious and satisfying essay on the never-ending play of Proteus—Proteus, the constantly flowing river of experience, and Intelligence, the light-hearted hound ever on the alert to follow and detect and use the Protean transformations. One will find here no technical discussion of intelligence or the nature of reality, but a fine sense for the kind of intelligence needed in the direction and appreciation of human affairs, and

a firm grasp of the place of human values in the process—values intensified rather than weakened by being placed in the Protean flux which devours its products.

*Lycurgus or The Future of Law.* By E. S. P. Haynes. *Outoboros or The Mechanical Extension of Mankind.* By Garet Garrett. Today and Tomorrow Series. \$1 each. E. P. Dutton and Company.

Messrs. Haynes and Garrett have joined the noble band of Utopians, though they would stoutly deny such kinship. Yet Mr. Haynes forecasts the complete humanization of law, providing for a closer *rapprochement* between delinquents, psychiatrists, and judges in the interests of social betterment, and Mr. Garrett predicts the readjustment of trade along the biologic lines of symbiosis, the relation of mutual helpfulness in which each nation shall forego competition with its attendant parasitism and shall substitute for it mutual helpfulness based on the possession of natural resources and the degree of development of mechanical power.

*Hephaestus or The Soul of the Machine.* By E. E. Fournier d'Albe. *Quo Vadimus? Some Glimpses of the Future.* By E. E. Fournier d'Albe. *Paris or The Future of War.* By Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Today and Tomorrow Series. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$1 each.

The two small volumes by Mr. d'Albe seem unnecessarily lethargic. He is an optimist whose exhilarating prophecies—quite after the manner of "Queen Mab"—that within one hundred years the earth will be unified under a single government, all deaths from disease eliminated, and all injuries curable cannot save his book from the dreariness that comes from many platitudes. Captain Hart, on the other hand, is well up with the leaders of the series. With consummate logic and apt illustration he demonstrates the fallacies of the Napoleonic tradition and the notion of "the nation in arms." He is no sentimentalist, however, and ridicules the attempt to restrict by international legislation the use of gas and aeroplanes—the two most powerful weapons of the time. A rationally conducted war will be directed primarily not toward the destruction of the enemy's forces in the field but toward the crippling of his economic resources. The civilian population will inevitably bear the brunt of the next war.

*1931: The Great Pacific War.* By Hector C. Bywater. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.50.

Mr. Bywater's imaginary Japanese attack upon America is a diversion precipitated by the ruling class to preserve its position in the face of threatened revolution. The final victory rests with the United States, but at fearful cost to the people of both countries. In his assiduous pursuit of all the naval and military factors, the author has overlooked some of the more fundamental laws of physics. We can but admire the persistence of the stricken Japanese submarine which insists on sinking to the bottom in water so deep that its "sides must have been crushed flat by the irresistible pressure of the water."

*Americana: The Literature of American History.* By Milton Waldman. Henry Holt and Company. \$5.

Gossip about rare books concerning American history written by a layman for millionaire collectors. Mr. Waldman acknowledges that he discovered the subject only "four or five years ago," and the specialist is soon convinced of the truth of the confession. The author's interest is not the historian's but first the collector's and then the literary man's. In spite of limitations, he has produced a useful work and at the same time an interesting one. He knows the books about which he writes and throws out much information about them, how many copies have been preserved, their market value, and anecdotes of their discovery. Most of the volume is devoted to books and pamphlets relating to the early and romantic period of

American history, but two sketchy chapters on early printing and American literature in its auction character bring the story into the last century.

*The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell.* Edited by G. P. Gooch. Longmans, Green and Company. Two volumes. \$10.50.

When a man has been twice Prime Minister of England and for forty years has helped to sway the destinies of Europe, it is *de rigueur* that the letters he writes to and receives from important persons shall be ransacked for light upon obscure passages in the political history of the time. Lord John Russell played a great part in several crises of the nineteenth century, sometimes for good, sometimes for evil. The Reform Bill and the repeal of the Corn Laws stand to his credit in English affairs, while abroad the Unification of Italy owed much to his assistance. On the other hand, he was as blindly perverse as Palmerston in plunging his country into the Crimean War, and almost as fatuous as Gladstone in his attitude upon the American Civil War. These volumes comprise a selection largely from new material dealing with the period 1840-1878, and Dr. Gooch expends a fraction of his immense learning in a general introduction and shorter introductions to the several chapters.

## Music

### The Bach Festival

A PECULIAR feature of the Bach Festival which takes place annually at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, is that it always has a new experience to offer. This fourteenth of May, for instance, marked its twentieth inauguration under the leadership of Dr. Fred Wolle; and yet, both in letter and in spirit, it provided fresh material. Capping a musical season distinguished by an unusual number and variety of Bach performances, it pointed out works still to be explored. And following on the heels of a plethora of modern music, it authenticated this composer as its greatest inspirational source. On the other hand, it is modern music that has paved the way for Bach. This music has, from first to last, been a revolt against romanticism; and the germs of the revolt are to be found in Bach. Perhaps the greatest proof of this is that he was never imitated by his successors, the romanticists. The romanticists, one suspects, often found him dull. Certainly they often made him so. Compare, for example, the piano "traditions" they have been handing to us for the last three or four decades with the startlingly fresh revelations of Harold Samuels. Or the continuous movement and sustained utterance of Toscanini's Bach with the halts and breaks and sentimentalizings of Dr. Wolle's. Or, last but not least, our generally scanty knowledge of this composer with the thorough propaganda made by the romanticists for their favorites, Beethoven and Wagner. The seven cantatas and motet for double choir that opened the festival this year were for the greater part unknown. And while the great B Minor Mass has now come to be an annual feature of the second day, one nevertheless has to journey to Bethlehem to hear it. The cantatas comprised, in the order of their performance, "Christians, Grave Ye This Glad Day," "O Praise the Lord for All His Mercies," and "Jesus, Now Will We Praise Thee" for the first session; and "Christ Lay in Death's Dark Prison," "God so Loved the World," "Who so Doth Offer Thanks," "O Christ, My All in Living," and the motet, "Sing Ye to the Lord a New-made Song", for the second. They proved to be a magnificent feast, though one rather heavy at times, served as they were in such quantity and in such quick succession. Nevertheless, the last five numbers reached the high-water mark in beauty of the two days.

That the first three were less impressive, and the mass itself not the crowning point, was due not so much to Bach as

to certain extraneous details that irritated one in the beginning and wearied one in the end. For one thing, the members of the Philadelphia Orchestra engaged to assist made it quite evident, by both their manner and their playing, that they were not the least interested either in Bach or in Dr. Wolle. With the exception of the beautiful work of the solo cellist, their general ensemble was as ragged and rough as that of a village band. Had an organ been substituted instead, and the sum of their hire been used for a first-class organist, the result would have been infinitely more appropriate and satisfying.

Again, one was continually being let down between the choruses by the soloists. These were divided in number and duties—Mildred Faas, Maybelle C. Addison, Arthur Kraft, and Henri Scott (the last substituting for Charles T. Tittmann) making up the first day's quartet, and Emily Stokes Hagar, Mabel Beddoe, Nicholas Douty, and Henri Scott that for the second day. Of them all, only Mr. Scott showed any real authority or Miss Faas any vocal resources. Mr. Kraft has a fine voice but one far too light for his task. The general effect that most of these soloists gave was that of scrambling along, just about able to catch the notes if not always the intonation. And one was constantly struck by the ironic fact that these trained professionals of long experience could not approach, either technically or musically, the three hundred amateurs of the choir, for the most part trained only to sing Bach. Apparently, however, if one can sing Bach one can sing anything. And equally apparently, we have no oratorio singers who *can* sing him.

Undoubtedly some of this lack of coordination among orchestra and soloists was due to Dr. Wolle's conducting. He has no beat that is either visible or audible; he drags his tempi unmercifully as well as unmusically; and he has the pernicious habit of ending every cadence with a retard and of beginning that retard a measure too soon. One feels that he is concerned only with his chorus. With them, after all, he has done his greatest work—a work that has taken years of patient labor, and that today enables these three hundred unprofessionals to sing the most difficult choral music ever written, with beauty of tone, vocal ease and proficiency, and profound musical feeling. And, hopeless romanticist though he is in his interpretations, he nevertheless has given us our first and, in many cases, our only hearings of Bach's choral masterpieces. The Bach Festival is, indeed, the nearest of any, in spirit and in kind, to the Festival of Baireuth; and even nearer than the latter, musically, to our own generation and age. For Wagner is already outmoded. Only with Bach, as the Festival at Bethlehem brings home, can one live for days without any sense of anachronism. He alone, it seems, of all composers, past or present, remains undated.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

## Drama

### Bigger and Better

DOUBTLESS one of the chief reasons for the popularity of the revues is the fact that of all forms of theatrical entertainment they require the least active participation on the part of the audience. In even the most nonsensical of farces one must at least take the trouble to remember that the suspicious husband is hidden in the trunk and one must assume some sort of concern for the persons involved. But one watches a revue as one watches a crowd from a cafe table. There is no plot to follow and no characters to remember—only a maze of dancers and a blaze of colors which demand the exercise of no faculties of attention higher than those of a three months' baby who has just discovered that a rattle will shine and tinkle. Whatever can be made to impinge upon the passive senses—light and color and blaring sound—is poured forth in endless profusion, but everything else is left out.

The performers, of course, work hard. Through long mornings the chorus has patiently practiced intricate evolutions whose difficulty can only be properly appreciated by one who has attempted to teach a dozen men to execute squads right; nightly the eccentric dancers summon the last ounce of their energy for gyrations which become every year more vertiginous and which leave them, trained as they are, gasping for breath in the wings. Singers shout and stage managers sweat; but the audience, cool and languid, does not have even to look or listen, for there is nothing in all the show which is not fast enough or bright enough or loud enough to force itself upon the most comatose senses.

I suspect, indeed, that these spectacles possess in a mild way something of the same charm which the audience in a Roman amphitheater perceived when it watched the *retiarius* attempting to entrap the *secutor* in a net, or saw the Christians driven in to the lions; for it gives one a pleasant, almost Oriental, sense of magnificence to see so much endured for one's mere entertainment. All the performers are in a state of ceaseless, almost epileptic activity; before one set has quite left the stage, another, as though afraid that we might for a moment be left undiverted, rushes forth more furiously and more noisily than the others to capture our attention. Moreover, most of the people who do these exhausting or troublesome things are girls, and a female martyr was always more diverting than one of the opposite sex. If we are sometimes a little bored we, in our seats, can always, like Lucretius on his mountain top, be glad that the pains which others suffer are not ours. At the very worst we can say: "I'd hate to do that on a night like this."

It is apparently upon a psychology such as this that the Shuberts are counting for their new revue, "The Great Temptations" (Winter Garden), and in such matters the Shuberts do not usually count wrong. There is nothing in it that is new, but they have taken bigger and better for their motto. I never, I think, saw in any revue so many girls, dressed and undressed, so bewildering a variety of décor, or so much and such vertiginous dancing as this one presents. There are dozens of scenes, scores of performers, hundreds of costumes, and no end of energy. One leaves the theater giddy, sand-blind, and half-deaf; but—or perhaps therefore—the spectacle is a success. It does more and does it faster than any similar show on Broadway.

"The Climax" (Forty-eighth Street Theater) is a revival of a play by Edward Locke which was popular here some years ago. It tells the story of a singer who lost her voice as the result of malign mental suggestion and it has a certain obvious kind of theatrical effectiveness, but like all purely popular entertainments its emotional accents have rapidly acquired a fatally old-fashioned tone. Its platitudes alone are enough to damn it today.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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# International Relations Section

## More War in Morocco

By ROBERT DELL

*Paris, May 11*

THE war with the Riff has begun again. Abd-el-Krim's refusal to accept the terms that France and Spain sought to impose on him shows that he is not actuated by mere self-interest and desire of gain. Had he consented to exile himself from the Riff he could no doubt have made excellent terms for himself with the French Government, which was prepared to pay liberally to get rid of him, and might have had a very comfortable and agreeable life in some pleasant climate. Whether the confidence expressed here that he would be bought off was really felt I cannot say. In any case it is difficult to believe that the French and Spanish governments had a sincere desire for peace. The Spanish Government clearly had not. It agreed reluctantly to negotiate at all, and I have no doubt that the terms would have been less severe but for Spanish influence. Painlevé made a fatal blunder when he tied France to Spain and made peace impossible without Spanish consent. Spain will never be able to hold the Riff alone and the only issue can be a joint French-Spanish protectorate over the Riff, however veiled. That, in fact, was implied in the peace terms.

The Riff, however, has still to be conquered, and it is not certain that it will be before the winter. So long as the war is waged mainly with colonial troops, the French people will probably tolerate it. But if the war drags on and it becomes necessary to send more troops from France there may be trouble. Both the Socialists and the Communists have given notice of interpellations on the failure of the peace negotiations, to be made when Parliament meets again on May 27, but the former are much to blame for the present situation. They were hampered by their participation in the Left Bloc and did not insist as they should have done on peace being made. Moreover, they acquiesced in the agreement with Spain.

French policy in regard to the Riff has been a succession of blunders. Three years ago, when Abd-el-Krim had defeated the Spaniards, France could have intervened and made a satisfactory settlement possible. At that time Spain was quite prepared to abandon her protectorate over the Riff. Primo de Rivera himself advocated evacuation of the territory. Poincaré, however, hoping to profit by the Spanish defeat and extend French influence, and, incidentally, to bring pressure on England by threatening Gibraltar, refused to listen to Abd-el-Krim's appeal. Instead he instructed Lyautey to make the advance that provoked Abd-el-Krim's attack on French territory. Herriot, when he came into power two years ago, might have saved the situation, but, with astonishing levity, he gave Lyautey carte blanche. He seems never to have taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the facts or to have realized the gravity of the situation. Then Painlevé last year found himself faced by a fait accompli and finally made the blunder of the agreement with Spain.

Abd-el-Krim was undoubtedly to blame in not taking the opportunity of peace negotiations last year and in making excessive claims. The French Government could not consent to grant the Riff complete independence, in-

cluding the control of foreign relations, which would have meant sooner or later the intrusion of Italy into Morocco. I have reason to believe that Abd-el-Krim was encouraged by Italy in his uncompromising attitude last year. In any case, his refusal to take cognizance of the French peace terms was a blunder from his own point of view. No doubt the "autonomy" that they offered was very vague and was limited by conditions that required definition, but it is probable that, had Abd-el-Krim consented to negotiate last year, he would have got in the end the terms which he is now—too late—willing to accept. For he has now abandoned the claim to complete independence.

So the blame is not all on one side; but Spain is the chief culprit. France is now committed to a war in what is, in fact, a purely Spanish interest. Apart from other and even graver considerations, the expenditure that will be involved will further complicate the already complicated financial situation and increase the inevitable budget deficit. Meanwhile the franc continues to fall, and the Government continues to give fantastic explanations of that unpleasant fact. One was that the British Government, panic-stricken by the strike, was selling French francs to save the pound sterling. As Lucien Romier justly remarked in the *Figaro*, if a panic in England causes the franc to fall, the best way to prevent it from falling would be to organize a panic in France! Romier is one of the few French writers who understand that the franc continues to fall for the simple reason that the causes of its depreciation have not been removed. He never shared the illusion that the depreciation of the franc would be checked merely by balancing the budget on paper.

The general European situation is a little more hopeful. It would seem, from the proceedings at Geneva, that the French Government has abandoned the proposal to increase the number of permanent members on the Council of the League of Nations, except of course by the addition of Germany, and that the agitation about the Russo-German treaty seems to be dying down. Immediately after the conclusion of that treaty the Quai d'Orsay was talking in such a way as to suggest that France would keep Germany out of the League of Nations unless she consented to denounce or at least modify the treaty, but wiser counsels seem to have prevailed. Benes too, who at first was much excited about the treaty, seems to have become calmer, and the comments of the Czecho-Slovak press have been surprisingly moderate on the whole. Poland is in such a bad way financially and economically that she is not in a position to make extravagant claims. It may be that she will be obliged to consent to the control of her finances by the League of Nations, after the example of Austria and Hungary. It is almost certain that she will get no loan except on that condition.

Much may happen before September, but at present the symptoms point to the admission of Germany into the League of Nations four months hence, with a permanent seat on the Council. The Geneva jurists seem to be unanimously of opinion that the treaty between Germany and Russia is in no way inconsistent with the Covenant of the League. They could hardly have come to any other conclusion, seeing that in 1922 Czecho-Slovakia made an almost identical treaty with Russia, which was duly registered and against which nobody has ever protested.

## A Rebuke to the French in Damascus

**L'**HUMANITÉ on March 29 printed the following protest of the Consular Corps to the Deputy of the French High Commissioner concerning the bombardment of Damascus in October, 1925. Recent events give this document a particular interest.

*Deanery of the Consular Corps  
Damascus, October 21, 1925*

MONSIEUR DEPUTÉ:

I am charged by the Consular Corps to make the following communication to you concerning the happenings at Damascus.

Several times, by communications oral and written to the consuls, by public communiqués announcing the complete quiet in Damascus, the mandatory authorities have assured foreigners of their security in Damascus. As a result of these official assurances of the authorities, held responsible by the League of Nations and by the Government of the United States of America, the consuls, despite their uneasiness, have not advised the people under their jurisdiction to leave the city.

From the 18th to the 20th of the present month, as a result of the invasion of inconsiderable bands, aided by elements not very numerous of the population, the mandatory authorities, without giving warning to foreigners that they might seek safety for themselves, deemed it necessary to withdraw their troops from the city, leaving foreigners there without the least protection, which meant women and children, the Christian population, and the native Jews.

At the same time and without any warning they subjected the city to a prolonged and widespread bombardment, such as ordinarily only fortified places must suffer. They left the foreigners under the bombardment while the French had been withdrawn from the danger zone. Because of the difficulty of getting about, the loss of life and the damage to property have not yet been established; but it is already known that several foreign houses have been damaged and that several foreigners have been killed by French shells.

In view of the aforesaid circumstances the Consular Corps is obliged to hold the French authorities responsible for the loss of foreign property and lives during the present events.

Since the assurances mentioned at the beginning of this note have not been carried out and in view of the aforementioned action of the French troops, the Consular Corps can no longer take the responsibility of counseling those under its jurisdiction to count on the protection of the mandatory Power. It now advises all under its jurisdiction to quit Damascus and begs the French authorities kindly to place safe and sufficient means of transport at the disposal of such foreigners as wish to follow this advice.

Meanwhile it is certain that many foreigners will be unable to leave Damascus.

It ought to be the duty of the mandatory Power to assure them adequate protection by sufficient military force and not to expose them to the danger of bombardment. The Consular Corps is obliged to hold the mandatory authority responsible for life and property in Damascus.

The Consular Corps also hopes that in the future the protection of the capital of Syria may be assured on the military front outside of the city.

In default of adequate protection from the outside it is evident that nothing will hinder other bands from entering the city, which will again become the theater of military operations, from which foreigners there established and trusting French protection will suffer.

It must be added that the losses occasioned by the bom-

bardment and by the fire in the principal commercial centers of the city will have prolonged repercussions in the European and American houses in their business relations with the merchants ruined by this destruction. For undoubtedly there was merchandise belonging to Europeans and Americans in these destroyed houses.

Rumors have gone abroad that the French authorities intend under certain circumstances to recommence the bombardment of the city. Such a bombardment could not fail to cause more damage to life and property of foreigners. The Consular Corps, moved by great solicitude for those under its jurisdiction and by humane sentiments, dares to express the hope that such a bombardment may be avoided and that should repression become necessary, it be carried out in accordance with the methods commonly in use in case of disorders in cities, methods calculated to punish the guilty without striking the innocent, especially the women and children. The Consular Corps does not think it necessary to suppress this humanitarian emotion, for, no matter what the misdeeds of certain elements of the population may be, the Moslem population of Damascus in general has protected the Christians and the Jews and the foreigners with great kindness and good-will when, after the retreat of the French troops, they had no protection to hope for.

I am charged to inform you that my colleagues and I are transmitting to our respective governments copies of this note.

I profit by this occasion, Monsieur Député, to assure you again of my very great esteem.

[Signed] THE DEAN OF THE CONSULAR CORPS

## In Memory of Matteotti

**T**HE following manifesto, issued by the executive committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Italy after a meeting on March 30 and 31, was printed in *Vorwärts* (Berlin) on April 6:

Since the trial at Chieti the Fascist regime has become convinced that a chapter of its existence as well as that of the opposition parties has been closed and sealed. Over against that view the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party, as well as the Socialist Deputies belonging to it, think it important to emphasize the following:

It was precisely this miserable judicial spectacle and travesty of justice, as well as the preliminary hearings of the State Court, which convinced the Italian people that all it had suspected and imagined concerning the methods of Fascist warfare against its political enemies was true. Despite the untiring efforts of the Aventine—to which the future will be very grateful, because it embodied the indestructible moral passion of a great people—the demands of justice have not been fulfilled by the trial at Chieti. On the other hand, the illustrious and spotless person of Giacomo Matteotti remains henceforth dedicated to the gratitude of the world proletariat. This person was, even in death and in spite of death, still persecuted in the courtroom with a criminal, even though useless and impotent, mania for slander, but through the very fact of unavenged martyrdom he has become the imperishable symbol of moral and human protest—protest against all who are guilty of or who eulogize murder, now raised to an instrument of political government.

But the cult of the martyr dare not be confined to a mystic and inactive veneration. The fact of martyrdom must urge us on to look unceasingly to all the goals which the dead had placed for himself and for which he sacrificed himself. The Calvary of the working classes is more than ever the painful reality which weighs on the world and which no party answering to the name of Socialist dare ever forget.

The desperate conditions laid upon the government-con-

trolled press; the suppression of the right of assembly and coalition—all this cannot release our party or any other party from the duty of citizens, to shirk no effort. To this end appeal must be made above all to the cooperation of youth, to the new generation of workers with hand and brains, that they inform themselves and then the country concerning the ever more puzzling problem of the Italian constitution and the daily problems of foreign and home politics, of industry and finance. All the undeniable difficulties that stand in the way of such action cannot justify the refusal to exercise an influence in public life. It is, on the contrary, a duty to take part in and help along the criticism of the absolutistic regime and to declare openly the example and hopes of the socialist future by way of freedom and democracy.

The proletariat may be suppressed by being deprived of all legal means to show its class-consciousness. But the class war as such has not by any means been removed thereby. The class war remains still a natural economic and political fact, inseparably tied to the capitalist system of production. Therefore the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party of Italy and its parliamentary faction, fully conscious of the role which they have to play in this struggle, have decided to call a new plenary session to Milan, which shall be strengthened by all delegations concerned. There they will examine thoroughly the special and very serious limitations which have been placed upon the party by the new laws, in order to rob it of all means of effective resistance against the unbounded exploitation which the Italian proletariat suffers on the land, in factories, and on the water. And, finally, they will show the proletariat the most rapid and practical means for their own defense.

## Contributors to This Issue

HENDRIK W. VAN LOON wrote and illustrated "The Story of Mankind."

WILLIAM HARD is a well-known writer for the newspapers and magazines. He was formerly *The Nation's* Washington correspondent and is still a frequent contributor.

EUNICE FULLER BARNARD is a graduate of Smith College and writes for various women's magazines.

BENTON MACKAYE is an economist and social engineer.

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD wrote "The War Against Evolution" in *The Nation* of May 20, 1925.

FRANK R. KENT is vice-president of the *Baltimore Evening Sun*.

WILLIAM PICKENS is field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is just completing a round of visits to the colleges.

SARA BARD FIELD is a frequent contributor of verse to the magazines.

SAMUEL C. CHEW is professor of English at Bryn Mawr.

M. C. OTTO is the author of "Things and Ideals: Essays in Functional Philosophy."

PARKER THOMAS MOON is assistant professor of history at Columbia University. He was a member of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace in 1919.

JOHN S. SCOTT is professor of Greek at Northwestern University.

CLIFTON P. FADIMAN teaches at the Ethical Culture School in New York City.

ROBERT DELL is *The Nation's* correspondent in Paris.

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And an Answer



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